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VOYAGES  
TO THE  
*EAST-INDIES;*

BY THE LATE  
JOHN SPLINTER STAVORINUS, ESQ.

REAR ADMIRAL IN THE SERVICE OF THE  
STATES-GENERAL.

A.N.  
6342

Translated from the original Dutch,  
BY SAMUEL HULL WILCOCKE,  
WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The Whole comprising a full and accurate Account of  
the present and late Possessions of the Dutch  
in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope.



ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

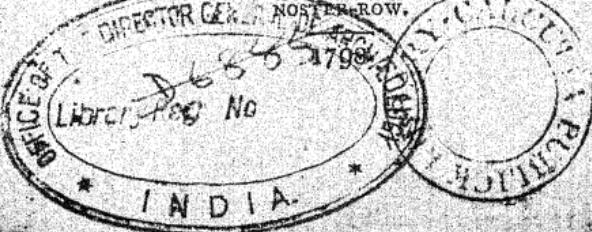
CONTAINING

A VOYAGE TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA, BANTAM, AND BENGAL, WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THOSE PARTS, &c. IN THE YEARS 1768-1771.

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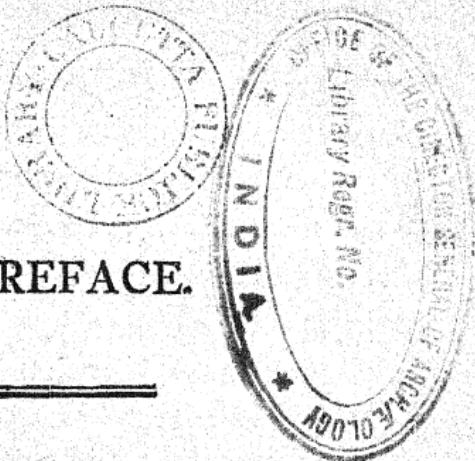
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## PREFACE.

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THE original of the work now offered to the public, has met with much approbation in Holland. It constituted, originally, two different works ; the account of the voyage to Batavia, Bantam, and Bengal, having been first published ; and afterwards, separately, that of the voyage to Samarang, Macaffer, Amboyna, &c. Hence proceeds the different forms in which the two voyages are moulded ; and hence some repetitions occur in the second, of what had been noticed in the first.

Mr. Stavorinus was post-captain in the naval service of the States General ; but a long period of peace, and the little employ-

ment that occurred in the Dutch navy for men of enterprize and abilities, prompted him to request permission to go a voyage to the East-Indies, as captain in the employ of the Dutch East-India Company, retaining, however, his rank of captain in the navy. The accounts of his two voyages, in that capacity, are here given ; and his readers will find him, throughout, a man of observation and intelligence. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, which he held at the time of his death.

Acquainted with the family, though not with the person, of the author, during a residence at Middleburgh, in Zealand, the translator has endeavoured to do all possible justice to his work, in the dress in which he now presents it to the public. A regard for truth, however, obliges him to declare, that he has had to struggle with much difficulty in correcting passages, which, in the Dutch original, are extremely faulty, from the negligence

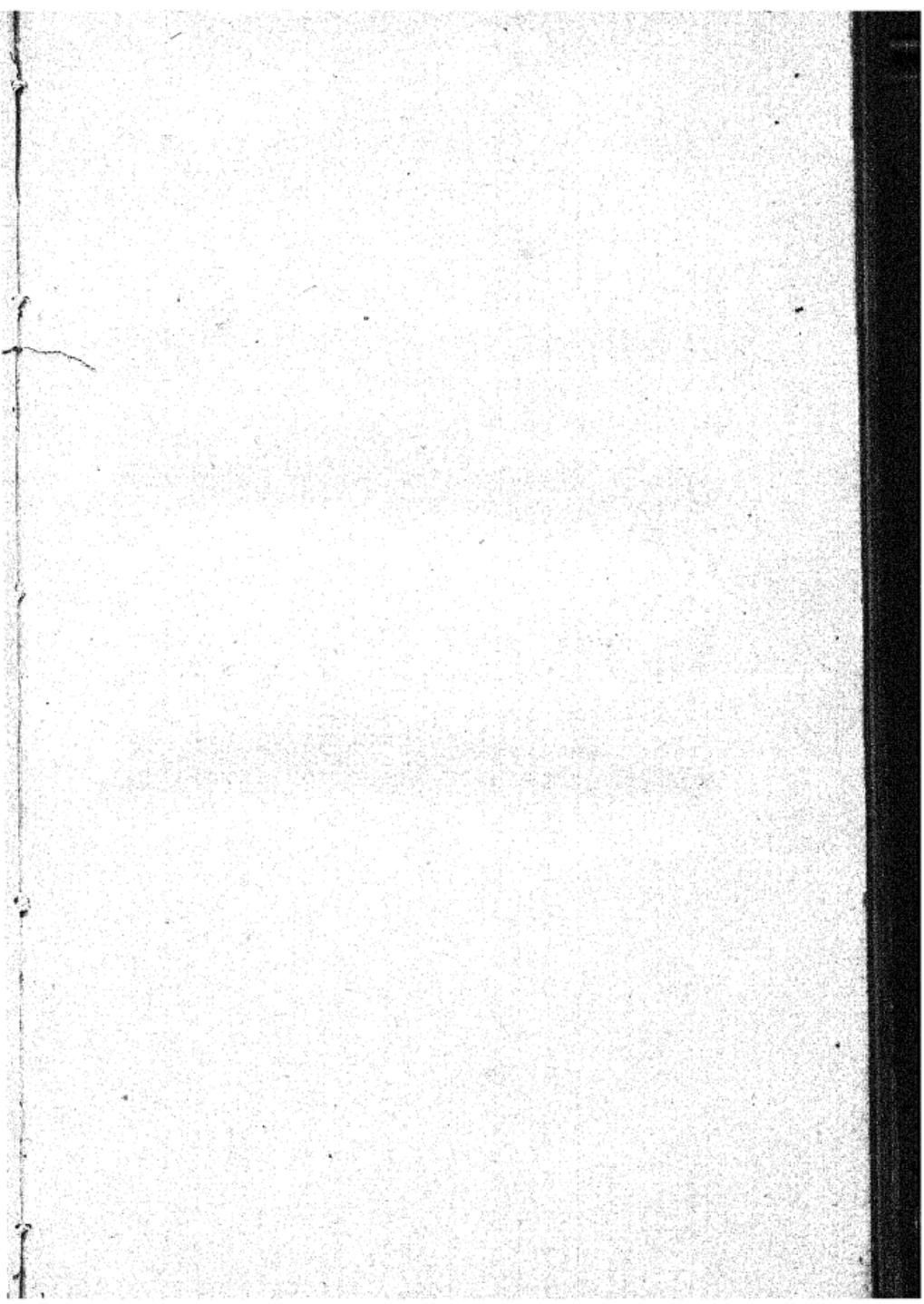
PREFACE.

ligence of the editor ; the original abounds in typographical errors, and in mistakes in numerical characters, some of which the translator has rectified from their obviousness, and a certain knowledge of the true reading, others from conjecture, and others, though as few in number as possible, he has been obliged to let remain as he found them.

With respect to the notes and additions which he has made, they are collected from every authentic source within his reach ; from the accounts of other travellers, from other Dutch writers, from authentic documents, manuscripts, and statements, and, in a few instances, from oral information : the work, together with the additions, he flatters himself will be found to contain much new information respecting the actual and late possessions of the Dutch in India, which, in the present situation of affairs, cannot fail of being extremely interesting. He had,

for

for some time previous to the publication of these voyages, collected the materials whence his additions have been made, with an idea of forming them into a general account of the Dutch Indian settlements; but meeting with these voyages, and thinking an English version of them could not fail of being acceptable, he conceived himself more adequate to the task of giving a translation, with the additional information required, to render the whole as complete an account of the Dutch settlements as his materials would admit of, in notes, than to that of composing an original work himself upon the subject.



*Directions to the Binder for placing the Maps.*

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## VOYAGE

TO

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA,  
BANTAM, AND BENGAL;

IN THE YEARS 1768-1771.

### BOOK I.

#### CHAPTER I.

*Departure from ZEALAND.—The SHINGLES.—  
SOUTHAMPTON.—PORTSMOUTH.—GOSPORT.  
—Departure from SPITHEAD.—The NEEDLES.  
—Islands of PORTO SANTO and MADEIRA.—  
Flying-fish.—Islands of SAL and BONA VISTA.  
—Dorados.—Dolphins.—Albicres.—Bonitos.—  
Sharks.—Pilot-fish.—Cape ST. AUGUSTINE.—  
The AEROLHOS.—Signs of Land.—Variation of  
the Compass.—Anchorage in TABLE BAY, at the  
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.*

ON the 10th of June, 1768, the East-India Company's ship the *Snoek* (the *Pike*), under my command, received her final dispatches; and upon mustering the crew, for the last time, we found that the number of men on board amounted to two hundred and

twenty-five; consisting of one hundred and forty-seven seamen, seventy-seven soldiers, and a passenger, who was a mechanic. We were fitted out, as usual, for nine months, and were bound to *Batavia*, by the way of the *Cape of Good Hope*. On the 13th, the wind coming round to the eastward, we slipped our cables, in the road of *Rammekens*, and set sail; but on reaching *Flushing* roads, the tide failing, and the wind veering to the south, we were obliged to come to an anchor. We remained here, windbound, till the 24th, when we again weighed anchor, and put to sea with a fresh gale from the east, and fine weather, saluting the town of *Flushing* with fifteen guns. We were clear of the land at nine o'clock A.M. and returning the farewell-salute of the pilotboat that had accompanied us, we steered for the Straits of *Dover*, and lost sight of the island of *Walcheren* about noon. At sunrise, the next day, we saw the opposite coasts of England and France; of the former, the North and South Forelands, and of the latter, the high land in the neighbourhood of *Calais*. At noon we found ourselves abreast of *Dover*, which is the first place on the English coast  
that

that appears on entering the Channel; here the easterly wind failed us again, and it began to blow a stiff gale at s.w. which made us resolve, the next day, to run in behind the *Shingles*, and there wait for a more favourable opportunity of proceeding on our voyage. Besides several other ships, we found lying at anchor here, our States' frigate, the *Young Prince of Orange*, commanded by Count BYLAND, sent out to cruise for the homewardbound East-India fleet, and which had sailed from *Campvere* the same day we left *Flushing*.

The *Shingles* is the name given to a large sand, that stretches out full a league and a half from the English coast, somewhat to the westward of *Folkstone*. It appears above water, but is very low, and would be very dangerous, especially in the night, were there not a lighthouse at its extreme point, whereby ships are enabled to perceive and avoid the danger. Vessels lie in safety here, protected from the s.w. and west winds; but being open to the s.s.w. and south, when the wind veers a point lower, they must of necessity immediately put to sea.

On the 29th of June, we saw two home-

wardbound East-Indiamen standing towards us ; upon which the States' frigate, the *Young Prince of Orange*, weighed anchor, and set sail, in order to convoy them to Holland. In the night we had an eclipse of the moon ; the beginning of which, by my observation, gave a difference of  $7' 31''$  in time between *Paris* and our situation at anchor, or  $1^{\circ} 52' 45''$  west longitude from the meridian of *Paris*.

The following day, being the 30th of June, the wind came round in the evening to the eastward ; whereupon we left the *Shingles* a short time before midnight, and held our course farther down the Channel. But on the next day, having scarcely reached as far as the Isle of *Wight*, the sky began to assume a black and menacing aspect towards the west, while the east wind now wholly failed us. Apprehensive of the coming storm, we hauled all our sails, and it soon burst upon us with the greatest vehemence : it was accompanied with the most tremendous thunder and lightning, and seemed to threaten inevitable destruction. On shore, as I afterwards was informed, it caused great devastation : on the road from

*London* to *Portsmouth*, many trees were struck by the lightning, and torn up by the roots; while much damage was done in all the farms and gardens thereabouts. This thunderstorm continued about three hours, from seven till ten o'clock at night, without however doing our ship any material damage. The wind then veered to the s.w. where it remained stationary, and blew mostly in heavy gales, without intermission, from that quarter, till the 7th of July, when it increased to a violent storm. This induced us, the next day, to determine upon putting into *Portsmouth*, that we might not be driven farther back up the Channel; and that the crew might not be unnecessarily harassed, without our being able to advance on our voyage, since our men were daily falling sick, and thirty of them were already unfit for duty. We accordingly reached *Spithead*, and cast anchor there the following day, being the 8th of July.

While we lay here, I made an excursion to *Southampton*, which is sixteen English miles, or about six hours' walk from *Gosport*, a kind of suburb to *Portsmouth*, lying on the opposite side of the harbour. The

road to that place, leads through a hilly, unpromising, and barren country, but which affords food for sheep, several flocks of which we met with on our way. Here and there were small running streams, that flowed down from the hills, into the valleys. We stopped halfway at a village called *Titchfield*, being two long streets of tolerably goodlooking houses.

*Southampton* is a town, situated on a river, which runs into the sea opposite to *Newport*, in the Isle of *Wight*, navigable above the town, for vessels of a moderate burden, and called *Southampton-water*. When the Danes were in possession of England, *Southampton* was the seat of their kings. It is naturally strong, being almost surrounded by two branches of the river; it is besides encircled by a wall of hewn stone, which bears strong marks of antiquity. From the riverside, runs a long and broad street, which is adorned on both sides by very handsome houses, reaching as far as the landgate, which opens to the London road. Over the gateway, is the statue of Queen *ANNE*, as large as life. This long street is the principal, and, indeed, may be said

said to be the only one, the others being of hardly any consequence \*. The town is much frequented in the summer season by the English nobility and gentry, on account of its agreeable situation ; and every kind of diversion, balls, concerts, plays, &c. are then to be met with, as was the case when I visited the place.

*Portsmouth* is at present a well-fortified town, and the works which surround it, particularly on the landside, are very considerable. Close to the town, on the north-side, are the King's building and dock-yards, his magazines and arsenals. The immense quantities of naval and military stores, that are kept here, are incredible. Most of the English ships of war are laid up here, in time of peace, but they are always kept afloat. The largest ships of their navy are to be seen here : I was on board of one, a three-decker, which measured on the lower deck, one hundred and ninety-seven feet English, being equal to one hun-

\* The additions and improvements which have been made in later years, since the time Mr. STAVORINUS visited *Southampton*, 1768, make the town assume a different appearance from what is here described. T.

dred and ninety-five and a quarter feet Amsterdam, and which carried one hundred and twenty guns \*.

Opposite to *Portsmouth*, lies the town of *Gosport*. The inlet between both, which is very wide, is used for a harbour; its entrance is defended by several considerable batteries. *Gosport* has many streets, and is crowded with shops, which in time of war, and when there are many ships here, are much frequented, and very flourishing.

On a point of land, which is called *Spithead*, whence the same appellation is given to the road before it, where the King's ships ride, there is a large and stately hospital for the seamen of the navy, which is kept exceedingly clean and neat, and in which the sick are treated with the greatest care and attention.

The 24th of July, the wind becoming favourable, we weighed anchor in the morning, and endeavoured to put to sea, round the west-end of the Isle of *Wight*, or past

\* The largest ships in the Dutch navy, are of 74 and 80 guns; their harbours will scarcely admit of ships of greater force. T.

the Needles; but in the afternoon, we were obliged, by a change of wind, to let drop our anchor before *Cowes*, a town in the Isle of *Wight*, whence a great trade is carried on to America; and on the 26th, as it began to blow hard, and the road of *Cowes* was not very safe, we returned again to *Spithead*. The next day, on the wind again coming round to the east, we left *Spithead*, for the second time, but we still could not pass the Needles; for coming near them, we found the tide against us, and the wind too scanty to sail out; and we were therefore obliged to turn back again, and anchored before *Yarmouth*, which is a small place in the Isle of *Wight*.

The Needles are high sharp rocks, like pyramids, situated at the western end of the Isle of *Wight*, and close to which ships must sail. On the other side of the channel, lie the *Shingles*, a sand which is dangerous to be approached too near.

On the 28th of July, however, we were fortunate enough to clear the land; but it was only on the 4th of August, that we left the Channel, and steered our course, in order to run in sight of the island *Porto Santo*.

Between ten and eleven o'clock on the morning of the 6th, we observed a remarkably strong aurora borealis, stretching from W. N. W. to N. N. E. The sky appeared, in that quarter, perfectly in flames; the rays, which shot forth in a serpentine direction, from the horizon to the zenith, were incessant; and that whole side of the heavens seemed to be agitated, and in combustion; the horizon was clouded, and the wind northerly, blowing a light gale; the greatest heat that day was  $67^{\circ}$  by Fahrenheit's thermometer; and at noon our latitude was  $48^{\circ} 1'$  north. For some days following we had a steady north wind, with fresh gales, so that on the 16th of August we ran in sight of the islands *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*. We here found ourselves  $3^{\circ} 6'$ , or 39 leagues, more to the eastward than our estimated longitude, since we had taken our last observation, on leaving the *Lizard Point*. Many vessels make an easterly misreckoning in these seas; and it may, with great probability, be attributed to the indraught of the currents, in the bend between Cape *Cantin*, and Cape *St. Vincent*, towards the Straits of *Gibraltar*.

Much

Much care ought therefore to be taken in these latitudes, especially in the night. The weather is here likewise often very cloudy, which was the reason, that we did not see *Porto Santo* in the morning, till we were within three or four leagues of it: whereas it is visible in clear weather, at the distance of eight or nine leagues off.

*Porto Santo* appears in the w.n.w. with four high hills, the northernmost of which seems as if it were separated from the others, but it loses that appearance, on sailing two or three points farther. We ran along the island at the distance of a short league, in order to take an accurate view of it. It is mostly hilly, and had also, through good glasses, an arid and barren appearance. It has a steep rocky shore all round, except on the southeast side, where there is a low inlet or bay, along which some houses are built. There is a great rock on its north-side, lying detached from the island, which, when it bears w.s.w. perfectly resembles a church with a steeple, the latter rising from its southern extremity. There are, besides this, several other rocks,

as well under water as above, lying all round the island.

*Madeira* lies s.w. about six or seven leagues from *Porto Santo*. It is much larger, and has some very high mountains. When abreast of *Porto Santo*, you first perceive a great haze, very like a thick smoke, to the s.w. nearly ten degrées above the horizon, which on a nearer approach is diffipated, and the high land of *Madeira* rises to view, yet still enveloped with clouds halfway downwards from the summits of the hills. To the s.e. of it, lie three small islands, which are very high, but barren and uninhabited ; they are called the *Ilhas Desertas*, and corruptly by our seamen, the *Serfkeros*, and are seen at a great distance. The sea is not discoloured round any of these islands, as is the case round many others, which must chiefly be ascribed, to there being no ground, but very close to the shore, whereby the water retains its azure limpidness. We found that the variation of the compass was here  $17^{\circ}$  n.w. and the greatest heat of the day was at the same time, on board our ship,  $78^{\circ}$ .

The

The number of sick began now greatly to increase. About sixty or seventy of the crew were already confined to their berths, and four had died. The prevailing dis tempers were bilious fevers and spasmodic colics; although we had but little rain, and no excessive heat, the thermometer seldom rising above  $78^{\circ}$ . I therefore now would not suffer the men to drink beer, but I had it mixed with their barley-porridge in the morning, and only allowed them water to drink. The consequences of this regulation were very salutary; for very few fell sick afterwards, and those that were ill recovered, though gradually, so that on approaching the line, we had but few on the sicklist.

We now began to see many flying fish \*, and we frequently made a good breakfast, upon such as had fallen upon the ship, during the night, as they frequently do, without being able to raise themselves again, and which we found lying on the deck in the morning. They are commonly of the size, and much of the

\* *Exocetus volitans.*

shape,

shape, of herrings, though they are, in general, rather smaller than larger ; the head is somewhat obtuse, the back blackish, and the belly white ; they are the best bait that can be put to a hook, for catching of dorados and albicores : they are mostly to be met with between the tropics, though they are sometimes seen as far as the thirty-second and thirty-third degrees of latitude ; yet at this distance they are but rarely found, and never wander into higher latitudes.

The day after we had lost sight of the islands *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*, we met with the settled north-easterly tradewind, with which we steered to the westward of the island *Palma* (the most westerly of the *Canary* islands), and passed the tropic of cancer on the 22d of August, five days after we had left *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*. The greatest heat on the day we passed the tropic was  $78\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>°</sup>.

On the 27th, at about three o'clock in the morning, we came in sight of the *Ille de Sal*, one of the *Cape Verde* islands. We had for three days been accompanied by a number of landbirds, among which were many swallows ; and these kept close to us

till we came in sight of land, and then they left us.

The island *Sal* is not very high, except on the north-side, where it is distinguishable by three hills, the northernmost of which is the highest. The land to the southward of these eminences is middling low, and slopes into the sea, at the s.e. point. The latitude of this point was, by observation,  $16^{\circ} 34'$  north; and the variation of the compass  $10\frac{1}{4}$  degrees n.w. The thermometer on board stood that day, at two o'clock p.m. between  $83^{\circ}$  and  $84^{\circ}$ . The island appeared to be about three or four leagues in length, and full half as broad. There is a very dangerous reef, that extends out from its north-side, but it seemed elsewhere to be tolerably bold and safe.

About six or seven leagues nearly south of *Isle de Sal*, lies the island *Bona Vista*, which is almost one-third larger, and rather lower, than the former: it has two eminences of a middling height, that appear distinctly upon it. There are two reefs, one at the north-side, and one at the south-side, which stretch out to the eastward, and which are both very dangerous. The East-India Company's  
ship

ship *Leimuiden*, was wrecked on one of them in the year 1769. Both these islands appeared very barren; and *Bona Vista* seemed sandy, being here and there interspersed with low sandhills.

We found ourselves, by observation, at these islands,  $12\frac{1}{4}$  leagues more to the westward, than our estimation, since our last observation of the longitude off *Madeira*. The light winds and high-running sea, prevented us from passing to the eastward of the island *Bona Vista*; and we were at last obliged, in order to avoid the danger of touching upon the reefs, to run between that island and *Sal*, after we had spent four-and-twenty hours in vain attempts to weather *Bona Vista*. On the 28th, in the evening, we lost sight of these islands, and directed our course towards the line.

The northeast tradewind failed us two days afterwards, and changed to south and s. s. w. which was exactly in our teeth. We were then in  $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of north latitude. These variable winds were frequently accompanied by violent thunderstorms and heavy showers of rain, of which we availed, in order to fill our empty watercasks, so that

this

this necessary element could be more liberally distributed to the crew ; and which was of great benefit to them, on account of the encreasing heat of the weather. Yet we had not much calm, till we again came into the course of the settled southeast tradewind, and we had hardly any sick on board. We were mostly encountered by thunderstorms, about the time of the rising and setting of the moon, which seems to have more influence on the weather, within the tropics, than without them. The instructions which are put on board of our East-India Company's ships say, that in these seas, the wind veers to the northward, at the new and full moons : this, however, we never experienced ; but, on the contrary, we met, at those times, with hard gales from the s.w. which were sometimes accompanied by a lowering sky, and violent squalls. The nearer we approached to the line, the more fish we had about the ship, of which we caught large quantities ; dorados, albicores, and likewise bonitos, sharks, and others ; which afforded a most welcome and agreeable refreshment to the seamen.

The dorado, or john-doree\*, is one of the most delicious seafish that is caught. It is long and flat, and covered with very small scales. It is from four to eight feet in length; but I seldom saw any caught that exceeded six feet, and ten or twelve pounds in weight. The head is obtuse and round, and immediately behind it is the broadest part of the fish, while the body is thin and narrow, tapering until it reaches the tail. When this fish appears near the surface of the water, it shines with a most lively mixture of various colours, blue, green, silver, and gold. It swims with great velocity, and darting at its prey, the flyingfish, it is sometimes seen to leap several feet out of the water. Although the dorado is the finest fish that is caught at sea, it is yet somewhat dry eating. The tail roasted is very good, and tastes much like a roasted cod's-tail.

The dolphin †, which I supposed to be the male of the dorado, has the same shape and taste, but is not adorned with such magnificent colours.

\* *Faber*, a species of *zeus*.

† *Coryphaena hippurus*.

The albacore \* is a bulky fish, with a sharp head, thick belly, and thin tail. The back is of a dark-brown hue, and the belly is white. Its flesh is firmer than that of the dorado, but it is drier, and has not so fine a flavour: it is nevertheless very tasteful food for a sailor. We caught several albicores that weighed upwards of sixty and seventy pounds, and which we had some difficulty to drag on board by the line. They never swim alone, but always a number together. They are caught by a hook, or are struck with a harpoon. They do not only prey on the flyingfish, but likewise on all other small fishes. We one day had a diverting sight of their manner of pursuing their prey:—we saw, at some distance, a large number of albicores, that swam, as it were, in a circle, and beat the water with their tails with great force, while in the middle, we perceived a great quantity of small fish; on approaching nearer, we found that they lessened the circle gradually, and all the little fearful fishes were thus pressed close together, till in the end they fell a prey to their enemies. These

\* A species of *scomber*.

small fishes, which were shaped like smelts, were often in such quantities near the ship, and especially at the stern, that the men took whole baskets full; and after letting them lie two or three days in salt, they eat them like anchovies. Whenever we saw them, we were sure likewise to observe their followers, the dorados and albicores.

The bonito \* appears, both with respect to shape and taste, to be the same fish as the albicore, the only difference being that the former is much less. I believe that the same fish, which when young is called a bonito, when it grows older and larger, acquires the name of albicore; at least, I could not perceive that they differed in any thing but in size.

When the weather was fine and calm, we now and then caught a shark, but more for the sake of the sport than for culinary purposes, to which this fish is very little adapted; yet the tail sometimes affords a meal to the sailor; but it must always be first trodden upon, or otherwise bruised, till a light foam exudes from it. The shark is a voracious and carnivorous animal, and

\* *Scomber pelamys.*

catches at, and devours every thing within its reach. It is highly dangerous, for those who may have the mischance to fall overboard, and for such as bathe or swim in places where it inhabits. Its prey would never escape, were it not for the difficulty which the shark has to catch it, from the situation of its mouth : this opens, as it were, under the throat, the snout protruding eight or ten inches farther ; so that, when the shark approaches its prey, it swims directly under it, and is obliged to turn on its back, and then suddenly snaps at it, and swallows it whole. The mouth is very wide and broad, and is furnished with a triple row of teeth, which all fit into each other, and cut every thing in two that comes between them. I have seen an iron crow, which had been thrust into the mouth of one of these animals, and in which the marks of the teeth were plainly to be seen. Its greatest force is in its tail. When caught, it beats the water with its tail, and makes it foam ; and when hauled on deck, it would break, by its means, the limbs of any one who might venture to approach too near. Its skin is very hard and rough, especially when dried.

It appears on the back and sides of a dirty green colour. It is commonly caught by a large hook, fastened to a double or triple brasswire of four or five feet in length, for cordage of any kind would be immediately bitten asunder; this brasswire is attached to a long and strong cord, which is made fast on board; about six feet above the hook, a piece of wood is fixed to the line, which serves to keep the hook steady, and this is baited with a piece of pork or beef. As soon as the shark has taken the hook, it must have free play with the line, particularly if it be a large one, which is easily perceived, the water of the ocean being very clear and transparent; after which the line must be softly drawn in again, and successively veered out, whenever the shark begins to pull, till in the end its forces be exhausted; it must then be hoisted on board by ropes round its body, and killed, or stunned, by repeated blows on the head with hand-spikes or iron crows, when the tail can be cut off without any danger. The shark has generally five, six, or more, fuckingfish\* hanging to it, which will not let go their

\* *Echeneis remora.*

hold,

hold, and which require a degree of force to pull them off.

Besides the fuckingfish, there is another fish that accompanies the shark ; it is called the pilotfish \*, because it is supposed to conduct, or pilot, the shark to its prey. This fish is much less easy to be caught than the shark itself ; yet we were fortunate enough to strike one with an eelspear, for they never bite at a hook. It was eight inches in length, and striped transversely with dark-blue and white lines, of about an inch broad, running round its body like fillets. It weighed about two pounds, and was very nice eating, and not so dry as other seafish.

After much disagreeable delay, we at last got into the s.e. tradewind, on the 17th of September, in the north latitude of three degrees and a half ; and on the 22d, in the evening, we passed the equator, on the same day and hour that the sun entered the southern signs ; the heat of the weather by the thermometer was  $77^{\circ}$ , and our longitude, by estimation, six degrees and a half west of Teneriffe.

\* *Gasterosteus ducor*.

On the 30th, we were in the latitude of Cape St. *Augustine*, and on the 6th of October, we had passed the *Abrolhos*. The former is the eastern extremity of *Brazil*. If once one falls below, or to the westward of this cape, it is not an easy matter to double it, without again crossing the line, to endeavour to get into the track of the westerly winds, in the thirty-fourth or thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, and then running with them so far to the east, as to get into the proper course for passing the line again; cases of this kind are not unfrequent. The *Abrolhos* are an assemblage of sands and rocks, some of which are above water, and some under; they lie in about eighteen degrees south latitude, and extend out to sea full twenty leagues from the land. Ships coming upon them are in great danger of being lost, or at least of losing their voyage; wherefore the East-India Company direct their commanders, on having passed these dangerous shoals, to perform a thanksgiving-service, and to distribute a quart of wine per man to the crew.

The variation of the compass, in the latitude of Cape St. *Augustine*, was two degrees

N.W. and in that of the *Abrolhos* half a degree N.E.

In 22° south latitude, we lost the easterly tradewind, and had variable winds, though mostly from the eastward, and sometimes from the north, as far as 30° or 31°, where the wind became westerly. Whenever it blew the least to the southward of west, we experienced a considerable degree of cold, and the thermometer did not rise higher than 53° or 54° in the warmest part of the day; while it was much warmer when we had northerly, or northwesterly gales.

The scurvy began now to make its appearance on board, and in a short time many of the crew became unfit for duty, and several of them died. But the ravages of the disease were not so great as we might have expected, from the length of the voyage, it being now three months since we had left England.

On the 10th of November, we saw for the first time *trumpets*, or sea-bamboo \*, floating on the ocean; this is a thick reed, with large pointed leaves, and a calyx, resem-

\* *Fucus buccinalis.*

bling the mouth of a trumpet, whence it has its name. We likewise saw petrels \*, and pintados † ; which, although both seabirds, never go far from land. The first, are about the size of a common fowl, and are quite black ; they are very lumpish, and fly heavily, and close to the water. The others may, for size, be compared to a small goose ; they are always met with in pairs : there is another kind that fly singly, and go much farther from land ; they are white, with black spots. From these signs, but especially from the variation of the compass, having increased to  $18^{\circ}$  N.W. and thus to within two degrees of the variation in *Table Bay*, at the *Cape of Good Hope*, we concluded that we were not far from that famous promontory. The variation of the compass is the easiest, and almost the surest, rule that is observed by our navigators, to arrive at the Cape, and to determine the longitude they are in ; for neither solar nor lunar eclipses occur frequently enough for the purpose, and it is scarcely possible to take an observation by the satellites of Ju-

\* *Procellaria aequinoctialis.*† *Procellaria capensis.*

piter from on board of a ship, on account of its continual motion. If the instrument be correct, and the observation accurate, the variation of the compass may be depended upon; for instance, in the latitude of Cape *St. Augustine*, on the coast of *Brazil*, when the northeasterly variation is no longer observable, that is, when the needle shews the true north, or before it begins to take a westerly variation, you may then be assured that you can double that cape; and in the same manner in the latitude of the *Abrolhos*; where there is no danger as long as the variation is  $2^{\circ}$  or  $3^{\circ}$  N.E. Thence to the eastward or southeastward, the variation increases, and the needle progressively turns more to the west, as far as the longitude of *Madagascar*, where, in  $39^{\circ}$  or  $40^{\circ}$  south latitude, it at present, points  $27^{\circ}$  to the westward of the true north; and again, from that part, it decreases in passing to the straits of *Sunda*, more and more, till in  $12^{\circ}$  or  $13^{\circ}$ , it again shews the true north. At the *Cape of Good Hope*, the variation was this year full  $20\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N.W. The westerly variation augments every year, and it has for some time been found, that

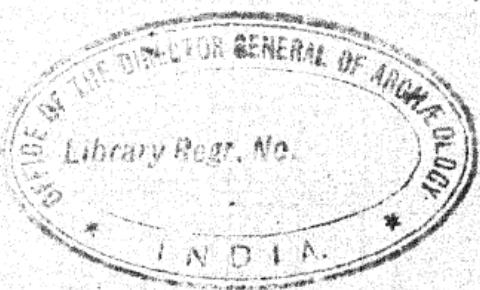
at *Paris*, its annual increase amounts to  $10\frac{1}{2}$  minutes or one-sixth of a degree, according to the *Connoissance des Temps pour l'Année 1771.*

At last, on the 17th of November, about three o'clock, P.M. to our great joy, we discovered the land of *Africa*, near the *Cape of Good Hope*, the *Table Mountain* bearing east, about twelve or thirteen leagues off; but it being too late in the day, to attempt reaching the road, we thought it advisable to ply off and on, during the night, and not to try to enter the bay, till the next day.

We now found that our longitude was  $1^{\circ} 45'$ , or 22 leagues, more to the westward than by the ship's reckoning, since our last observation at the island *Bona Vista*, on the 27th of August; so that we had but a small misreckoning for such a length of passage. The number of dead since our departure from *Flushing* was thirty; and we had fifty-eight on the sicklist, mostly down with the scurvy.

The next day, early in the morning, we carried a pres' of sail, and steered towards *Table Bay*, between the *Walvisch*,

or *Whale Rock*, and the *Lion's-tail*; but owing to its falling calm, it was not till four o'clock, P.M. that we reached the anchorage in the inner road, and saluted the fort with thirteen guns. We found lying at anchor here the East-India Company's *Hoy*, the *Snelheid* (the *Speed*), and a French ship, bound to the island *Bourbon*. On entering the road, the land has no very agreeable aspect, appearing only to be steep and rocky mountains, nearly destitute of verdure, while the fort and town of the Cape are not seen, till very near the anchoring-ground. But of the several particulars relative to the Cape, I shall speak more at large in my observations, at the close of my journal.



## CHAPTER II.

**CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.**—*Journey up the TABLE Mountain.—Fine Prospect from its Summit.—Arrival of the SWALLOW, Captain CARTERET, at the Cape, from the South Seas.—Departure from TABLE Bay.—The Island ST. PAUL.—AMSTERDAM Island.—Singular Noise coming up out of the Sea.—Violent Storms.—ENGANO.—REEF Island.—The high Land of SUMATRA.—Entrance into the Straits of SUNDA.—Islands of KRAKETAU, DWARS IN DEN WEG, WAPENS VAN HOORN, ONRUST.—Anchorage before BATAVIA.*

NOT long after our arrival at the *Cape of Good Hope*, I had the curiosity to ascend the *Table Mountain*, the difficulty of which, I was assured, would be well compensated by the pleasure, the jaunt would afford me. Accompanied by three other gentlemen, who were actuated by the same motives, and provided with some provisions and a guide, I set off upon this excursion, about half past two in the morning, from *Cape-town*, which is situated at the foot of the mountain. The road thither, led along some gardens,

gardens, which the inhabitants of the town had laid out here and there, as a kind of rural retreats. For something less than half an hour's walk beyond these, the way was easy, and the acclivity little; farther on it began to be more steep, running along a narrow ridge of the mountain, which ended about halfway up abruptly, against the side of a precipice. This place, the inhabitants of the Cape call the *Krants*, or Wreath. We arrived there at sunrise, being about half past four, and made a resting place of it. This ridge was formed, on either side, by corresponding steep and profound hollows. On the right hand, murmuring over the pebbles, which abounded in the hollow, ran a rivulet, whose source was at the summit of the mountain, and which supplies the town with water. The ridge itself was nearly overgrown with underwood, which was formerly the resort of wild beasts, although none at present inhabit it; at least we neither saw nor heard any thing of them.

Hitherto the ascent was not very difficult, but the path now began to be very precipitous, and so narrow, that it was sometimes

times not above two feet broad. There were several places, which we had to clamber up, which deviated little from a perpendicular line. On our left, we had a wall of steep rocks, heaped, as it were, in masses upon each other ; and on the other side, a deep chasm, into which it was both tremendous and dangerous, to venture a look. In climbing up, we had to hold ourselves fast by the shrubs, which grew up from between the interstices of the rocks ; and the labour and fatigue of the ascent, generally obliged us to take breath, whenever we came to a place that allowed us leisure. The higher we came, the more difficult we found the path, so that we had in the end, much to do to hold fast by the shrubs, to prevent our falling down from the dreadful height, and being dashed to pieces. Sometimes, when we met with large stones, and had room to look about us, we rolled them downwards, and following them with our eyes, perceived them in their fall, successively loosening many others, and heard them together clattering with a horrid noise down the steep sides of the chasm. We sometimes likewise met with large masses

of stone, of full twenty feet square, which had been torn from the mountain, and lay dispersed in different situations down its side. The ground on which we trod, consisted in nothing but loose stones, heaped upon each other; the sharp sides and angular irregularities of which, greatly added both to the danger, and to the difficulty of the ascent. If one of these was loosened, many others followed it, and rolling away from under the foot, threatened to hurry the unwary traveller down the abyss along with them, unless, with a firm hand, he could grasp the friendly security of some neighbouring deeprooted shrub.

It was half past seven when we got to the top of the *Table Mountain*, and found ourselves on the level summit, which is peculiarly called the *Table*; and from the flat appearance of which, seen from below, the whole mass has its name.

We here enjoyed the finest prospect that imagination can conceive. Both wind and weather were favourable. The sky was unencumbered with clouds, and the sunbeams were uninterrupted. Our view on one side was bounded by the mountains of

*Hottentot Holland.* To the southward, we beheld the breakers foaming along *False Bay*, as far as its eastern point, and against *Roomans Rock* \* which lies in it. Between this extensive inlet, and the Table Mountains, appeared the vineyards of *Constantia*. A little farther was *Hout*, or *Wood Bay*; and turning more to the westward, the *Lion's Mountain*, of which that part called the head, although of a great height, appeared to us like a hillock, on account of the much greater altitude of our situation: it seemed to lie almost under our feet, notwithstanding it is near ten thousand feet from the Table Mountain; the *Lion's-tail*, which is more than one thousand feet high, was scarcely distinguishable from the plain. The finest sight was that of Table Bay. *Robben*, or *Seal Island* †, which lies in the middle of the bay, though it is three miles in circumference, scarce seemed as many feet. The masts of the ships which were in the bay, could with difficulty be discerned;

\* *Roomans Rock*, so called, from a kind of red fish, named *roomans* or *red men*, by the inhabitants of the Cape, which abound in *False Bay*. They are excellent eating, and seem to be a species of mullet. ♀.

† This is called *Penguin Island*, in our maps. ♀.  
while

while their yards and tackling were in nowise distinguishable. The smaller vessels and boats appeared like specks; yet *Dassen*, or *Badger Island*\*<sup>1</sup>, was perfectly visible. Cape-town, upon which we looked directly down, appeared a small square, in which we could distinguish the divisions into streets, but none of the houses or buildings, the church excepted; which, however, was also hardly discernible; and the fort, which lies at a little distance from the town. It is difficult to describe in how small a space the whole of the above, and the circumjacent country seemed to be compressed. The view down that side which we had ascended, was in the highest degree frightful; appearing like an overhanging precipice. The prospect of descending again that way, was by no means alluring, yet there was no other practicable path.

The air, at this height, was very cool and rarefied, notwithstanding the sun shone very bright, and it was in the summer-season

\* This is improperly called Coney Island, in our maps: it has its name from the quantities of a species of Guinea-rat, or the *carvia capensis*, with which it abounds, and which are wrongfully called *dassen* or *badgers*, by the people of the Cape. T.

in this country. At Cape-town it was a warm day, for the thermometer then stood at 80°. We caused the slaves, whom we had brought with us, to collect some brushwood, and lighting a good fire, we sat round it, and had a comfortable dinner.

Having thus rested for some time, we afterwards walked over part of the Table, which took us an hour and a half. Its surface is not perfectly level; for there are here and there rocky irregularities, though seldom exceeding a man's height above the plain. This consists in many places of bare rock, lying in strata, and undulated like the waves of the sea. On the n.e. and s.e. sides the interstices of the rock are filled with a stony kind of earth, and produce various kinds of flowers, with which we were unacquainted; some of them affording a grateful odour, and others smelling very disagreeably \*. We were some time searching for the fishponds, which we had been told were formerly found on the sum-

\* Dr. THUNBERG mentions, as growing on the summit of the mountain, the following rare and beautiful flowers, *orbis grandiflora*, *serapias tubularis*, *serapias melaleuca*, and the blue *dias longicornis*; the first and last of which he never could meet with any where else. T.

mit of the mountain, but met with nothing of the kind. In the chinks and hollow places of the rock, however, we found some very sweet fresh water, which had a yellowish appearance, and which probably had been lodged there by the dense clouds which cover the Table when the wind blows from the s.e. This water refreshed us greatly, for we had not taken any with us from the town, and were extremely thirsty.

Several spots, where a little earth had been collected, produced a kind of reedy grass, with sharp points, and growing tolerably high, interspersed likewise with flowers, as beforementioned. To the south and south-east, the Table has a sensible slope, but it is also on those sides bounded by a precipitous descent of several hundred feet, with over-hanging rocks, and black protuberant mafses, so that it is here utterly impossible to be scaled.

Having remained for the space of full four hours on the summit of the mountain, we began our descent a little before noon ; having proceeded downwards for about half an hour, we arrived at a cavity in the rock, which we had overlooked on our ascent, and which being shaded by a part which jutted

out a good way, formed a pleasant grotto. The ground was covered with short grass. A limpid jet of sweet water, of about an inch in breadth, sprang from the rock at the back of the grotto. We rested upon the soft verdure for about half an hour, and, consuming our remaining provisions, again set forward on our return.

The danger and difficulty we found in descending, were even greater than when ascending the mountain. Obliged to look carefully around us, where to set our feet, we could not avoid beholding at the same time the dreadful abyss before us, which was sufficient to make the steadiest head giddy. The least false step was much more dangerous than before ; for while we were clambering upwards, we could secure ourselves by holding by the shrubs, but now we could not do so, without going backwards, which, indeed, we were sometimes obliged to do. As for sliding down over the loose and sharp stones, that seemed to us, not only more dangerous, but also impracticable. At half past two o'clock, however, we reached the flat rock, as it is called, in safety. This is a long and level space

space of rock, about two-thirds up the mountain, over which the rivulet which rises at the top of the chasm gushes downwards.

We rested here again for a short time, and refreshed ourselves with a draught of the clear fountain-water. We then, proceeding farther, entered an easier path than that we had pursued in the morning, on our ascent, and returned to Cape-town about four o'clock in the afternoon. The whole of the next day we could scarcely move either arms or legs, in consequence of the stiffness of our joints, contracted by the fatigue we had undergone ; and for a week afterwards, we felt great pain in our thighs, whenever we attempted to walk, even along a level ground.

Shortly after this, there arrived at the *Cape of Good Hope*, an English vessel, the *Swallow* sloop, commanded by Captain **CARTERET**, who had sailed round the world, having left *Spithead* in the month of August, 1766, and passing through the straits of *Magellan*, had traversed the Pacific Ocean ; and after having stopped some time at *Macaffer*, had touched at *Batavia*,

and now made the Cape, on his way home. Only fifteen of the crew had died during the whole voyage, and the most part of these met their fate between *Batavia* and the Cape.

They kept the object of their voyage a profound secret. All I could discover respecting them was, as I thought, that their longest stay had been at the island of *Juan Fernandez* \*.

Having received back our sick, who were but half recovered, from the hospital, and the strength of the rest of the crew being recruited, by a daily refreshment of good beef, greens, and bread, we left Table Bay on the 12th of December, with two hundred and eighteen hands, to proceed on our voyage to *Batavia*, the chief settlement of the Dutch in India. The southeasterly wind, with which we had left the bay, veered to the southwest as soon as we were

\* Captain CARTERET stayed about a week at *Maffafureo*, a smaller island, and near that of *Juan Fernandez*, having unexpectedly found the latter inhabited and fortified by the Spaniards. If we except the time he remained at *Macassar*, repairing his ship, and refreshing his crew, which was upwards of five months, his longest stay was at *New Britain*, and the other islands to the east of *New Guinea*. T.

out at sea. We were, in consequence, three days tacking about, in vain, before we could double the Cape. The 15th, however, the wind came round to the N.W. and we steered to the south, and afterwards in an easterly direction, in order to double the Cape of *Anguillas*, and to pass the reef of the same name. We found, however, that our ship was very leaky, and we were obliged to keep the pumps almost continually a-going, especially when we carried any more sail than usual.

On the 20th, we saw a lunar rainbow, which was very clear and light, but had no distinct colours. On the 24th, we met with a violent storm from the S.W. which continued to the next day, with a tremendous highrunning sea; so that we were obliged to lie by, as we made much water, and we could no longer stem the force of the mountain-waves. The wind was accompanied by hail, and some hailstones fell upon the ship, which were as large as a pigeon's egg. While lying by, the mizen-top-sail, which was the only piece of canvas standing, in order to keep the ship's head steady, was torn out of the

braces;

braces ; and we were obliged to set a reefed mizensail, though we were every moment afraid to see the mast come by the board, as it was very unsound : yet it fortunately stood out the gale. At the same time the water gained upon our leaks very fast, by the severe straining of the vessel against the waves, so that we were forced to pump almost incessantly.

On the 25th, the weather became calmer, and the sea smoother. We then again put before the wind, and pursued our voyage towards the east.

When the storm was over, we found that all our spare sails were soaked, and a great part of our bread spoiled by the seawater ; the principal seams were likewise, almost every where, wrenched so far open, that in some places they would admit a man's hand : this, however, we repaired as well as we could.

On the 10th of January, 1769, we saw a great number of gulls, and in the evening several seals, shearwaters, and black land-birds. Hence we concluded, that we were not far from the island *St. Paul*; though, according to our computation, it lay 80 leagues

leagues farther. For two days we had not been able to observe the variation of the compass, on account of the cloudy weather, by which the sun was wholly obscured. We however, at noon, observed our latitude, and found that it was exactly that of the abovenamed island. The sky was, in the afternoon and evening, very thick, by a continual rain ; and having, therefore, so little light, I directed our course to be altered two points from the east, to E.S.E. in order to run down out of the latitude of the island, which proved the means of our preservation ; for at half past ten at night, we had a glimpse of the land, close upon our side, so that it even seemed to hang over us ; but having got to windward of the island, we were enabled to run off shore before the wind, in a southerly direction, which we did, till we were at the distance of two leagues from the island, and we then set our course again towards the east.

This island, and that of *Amsterdam*, which lies fifteen leagues to the northward, are the only known islands in the southern Indian Ocean

Ocean below the tropic of capricorn \*. They are not large, but pretty high, particularly *St. Paul*, which is visible, in a clear day, at the distance of nine or ten leagues.

The East-India Company sent two ships to these islands in the year 1726. They were uninhabited. There was fresh water on both, and on that of *St. Paul* a hot spring of mineral water. There was good anchoring-ground on the north sides of both, and the sea around them abounded in fish. I did not find that any vessels had visited them since that time; they lie at 400 or 500 leagues distance from the continent †.

I directed little sail to be made during the

\* In the subsequent voyages of M. DE KERGUELEN, M. M. MARIOT and CROZET, and Captain COOK, those navigators discovered other islands in this tract of the ocean, consisting in a large island, called *Kerguelen's-land*, in about  $48^{\circ}$  south latitude, and  $64^{\circ} 20'$  east longitude from Greenwich, and some small islands, in three different places, about the latitude of  $46\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and  $47\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and longitudes  $37^{\circ}$ ,  $46\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and  $48\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  east from Greenwich. ‡.

† The most recent, as well as the most accurate, account of these islands, is to be found in Sir GEORGE STAUNTON's Account of Lord MACARTNEY's Embassy to China, whose squadron touched there. ‡.

night,

night, intending in the morning to steer again for the island, in order to have a near view of it; but finding at sunrise that, as the sky remained overcast, and the heavy rain continued, there would be some danger in doing this, for want of a sufficiently clear view, I desisted from the attempt, in order not to expose the ship unnecessarily.

Shortly afterwards, about six o'clock, there arose a sound just like the groaning of a man out of the sea, near the ship's side. When I first heard it, I thought that some one of the crew had been hurt between the decks, and I sent the officer of the watch down to see what was the matter. The men, however, who were on deck, told me that they had heard this noise arising, as it were, from out of the water several times before; and I then perceived it to be as they said; for going on the outside of the mainchains, I plainly heard it ten or twelve times repeated. It seemed to recede proportionably as the ship advanced, and lessening by degrees, died away at the stern. I suppose that it was perhaps occasioned by a sealion, that might be near the ship, as many of these animals were said to have been

been seen on the island *St. Paul*, although we perceived nothing like any animal. About seven o'clock, the gunner, who came to make a report of some matters of his department to me, informed me, that on one of his India voyages, he had met with the same occurrence, and that a dreadful storm had succeeded, which forced them to haul all their sails, and drive at the mercy of the winds and waves for four-and-twenty hours. When he told me this, there was not the least appearance of any storm ; yet before four o'clock in the afternoon, we lay under our bare poles, scudding before the wind, in a violent tempest. The sea ran so high on all sides, that at nine o'clock in the evening, all the cabin windows and hatches were stove in, and the water rushed quite into the stateroom. To provide, however, as much as possible against this, we spread a sail over the stern, on which the sea could break, and which proved of great service to us. This blowing weather continued till the next day, the 12th of January, when the violence of the storm abating a little, we were enabled to set our sails again. Fortunately, no material damage was done to our

masts or yards, but the bread and sail rooms were again very leaky.

At the same time we saw a good deal of floating seaweed, which is generally met with to the eastward of the islands *St. Paul* and *Amsterdam*. The meeting with seaweed may serve as an indication to navigators (besides the variation of the compass, which here decreases below  $19^{\circ}$ ) that they have passed those islands, and are to the eastward of them.

On the 14th, having been kept back by storms and contrary winds, we again came in sight of the island *St. Paul*, bearing N.W. about eight or nine leagues off. The wind then coming round to the west, we steered a northeasterly course, and on the 27th of January we passed the tropic of capricorn.

In  $34^{\circ}$  and  $35^{\circ}$  south latitude, we found our compasses quite unsettled, the needles varying four and five points backwards and forwards, although there was but little motion in the ship, and we were sailing but at a moderate rate.

In  $30^{\circ}$  south latitude, we met with the s.e. monsoon, or tradewind, with which we steered N.N.E. in order to make the land to the

the westward of the straits of *Sunda*, expecting to meet there with the westerly winds.

On the last day of the month, we had the sun vertically over us, and the highest rise of the thermometer that day was to  $81^{\circ}$ , though on the following days it stood at  $83^{\circ}$  or  $84^{\circ}$ .

In  $11^{\circ}$  south latitude, the s.e. tradewind left us, and changed to west, with which, on the 12th of February, we ran in sight of the island *Engano*. We here found ourselves  $10\frac{3}{4}$  leagues more to the east, than by the ship's reckoning.

This island lies in  $5\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$  south latitude, about 25 leagues e.s.e. from *Prince's Island*, in the straits of *Sunda*. Ships that pass the straits, in the westerly monsoon, generally run in sight of *Engano*. It is six or seven leagues in length, and not quite half as broad. It is not high, and can only be discerned at five leagues' distance. It always appears green, by the trees with which it is covered. We saw some breakers on the west side, but none any where else. There are no soundings round it, except on that side, where, according to the Indian Pilot,

there

there is an anchorage: some fishermen inhabit it, but they are very shy of strangers.

Immediately on coming in sight of this island, we were overtaken by a violent thunderstorm, which was followed by a continual calm for some days, so that we were not only prevented from advancing, but were driven by the currents, which set strongly to the westward, more and more the contrary way; and on the 16th of February, we lost sight of *Engano*.

This calm weather still continued, and if we sometimes had a breeze, it came from the s.e. the very point towards which our course should have been directed. Loitering here against our inclination, we discovered on the 21st, just before sunset, a low and small islet, at scarcely three leagues' distance, which we found by our latitude to be the island *Met het rif*, or *Reef Island*; likewise called *Droevig*, or *Disastrous Island*, on account of ships having formerly been wrecked upon it, by reason of its smallness. It was fortunate for us, that we saw it before dark; for we should otherwise have run much danger of falling upon it during the night, since we could not think that

the currents could have set us so far to the westward, which in five days, since our last observation at the island *Engano*, we found to be full thirty leagues.

Having a southeasterly breeze, we immediately ran straight off from the island, to the E.N.E. but at daybreak the next morning, we again found ourselves close to it; so that had it remained dark a little longer, we should have been in the greatest danger, by the strong currents which set towards it. We were therefore obliged, in order to avoid the disasters with which these continual calms and violent currents threatened us, to fall below it, out of our course, in order to have searoom enough.

This place is, as has already been mentioned, both very small and very low. At two leagues' distance, it has the appearance of a grove of evergreens, of about half a league in length, floating upon the water. Its south latitude is  $3^{\circ} 45'$ , by my own observation. The Indian Pilot describes it as having two reefs, one at the south, and one at the north, stretching out to sea, a league and a half: but sailing round its north end, about a league from the shore, and sounding with

with a line of 150 fathoms, we found no bottom; so that, in this instance, that book is not accurate; yet we saw breakers on the north side, as we computed, about a quarter of a league from the shore.

Our ill fortune was not yet at an end. We daily experienced calms, and contrary winds, together with heavy thunderstorms; and in these, the lightning was so incessant, that the whole horizon appeared as if on fire. We had likewise violent gusts of wind, that seldom were above an hour in duration; during which, however, it was impossible to carry any sail; and when we sometimes attempted to make some progress by them, our sails were either blown away, or we were in great danger of losing our yards and masts. When these sudden squalls subsided, they were commonly succeeded by dead calms, and the heat was then nearly intolerable, the thermometer being often at 88°, without the least refreshing breeze, to mitigate the fervency of the weather. All this, added to the heavy and violent rains, which fell every day, occasioned much sickness among the seamen; some of whom, in a short time, paid the debt to nature.

Among the dead, was my second lieutenant. I experienced myself the greatest torture, from a violent colic, for ten or twelve days, and the whole duty devolved thus on the first lieutenant, who was obliged to be on deck both night and day, as neither of the two officers next in rank, were fit for serving in the capacities they held; and were even hardly acquainted with the compass.

It was not till the 15th of March, that we got sight of land. At eight o'clock, A.M. on that day, we discovered the high land of *Sumatra's* west coast \*, and at noon made the *Keizers Piek*, or *Pike of the Emperor*, being a lofty, spiry mountain so called. Taking a good observation here, we found that the currents had driven us 60 leagues to the westward, since the 16th of February, though they otherwise, in this time of the year, mostly set to the east.

On the 16th of March, at noon, we entered the straits of *Sunda*, having the *Flat*

\* The part of *Sumatra* here meant, though, in fact, the southeast end of the island, is denominated by the Dutch, as above, *Sumatra's* west coast, on account of its relative westerly situation, with respect to their chief settlements at the east end of *Java*. T.

point of *Sumatra* on the one hand, and *Princes Island* on the other. I shall speak more at large of both places, in the observations which I have already mentioned.

Towards the evening, we found ourselves not far from the island *Kraketau*. The wind now gathering into a storm from the westward, and the rain rendering the sky very hazy, we resolved to lie by during the night, not having sufficient light to proceed. Making sail again at daybreak, we came at noon abreast of the island *Dwars in den Weg*, or *Middle Isle*. The guard stationed at *Anjer*, in behalf of the Company, came on board of us here, and I dispatched a letter by him, to the governor general at *Batavia*, and one to the commandant at *Bantam*, requesting to have some refreshments sent on board for my people. About eleven o'clock at night, we anchored abreast of the point of *Bantam*, near the island *Panjang*.

We received, the next morning, the refreshments we had asked for: they consisted in an old buffalo, the flesh of which was so tough, that no boiling would soften it, some very indifferent vegetables, and forty fowls.

For this scanty provision, the East-India Company were charged one hundred gilders \*.

In the afternoon, the wind being westerly, we weighed anchor, and at sunset, came to an anchor again, near the islands called *De Wapens van Hoorn*, or *The Arms of Horn*; for it is very dangerous to sail in the night-time along this coast, because of the shoals and rocks, which are scattered all the way, under the surface of the sea.

At sunrise, on the 19th of March, we again got under weigh, and passing, a little after noon, the island *Onrust*, we cast anchor about four o'clock, P.M. in the road of *Batavia*. The admiral, or flagship, returned our salute, of thirteen guns, with five, and I immediately went on shore, to wait upon the governor general, in order to inform him of my arrival, and give him an account of my voyage. His excellency, however, was at his country-seat, called *Wel te Vreeden* (Well-contented), and I accordingly went thither, to pay my respects to him.

\* About nine pounds sterling. T.

## CHAPTER III.

*Passage from BATAVIA to BANTAM.—Situation of BANTAM.—Description of the city.—The Pascébaan.—The Mosque.—The King's Palace, and Fort DIAMOND.—Religion.—Fort SPEELWYK.—Company's Officers.—Dependencies of the Commandery at BANTAM.—Pepper taken on board.—Weights.—Visit to some remarkable Places without the City.—Visit to the King of BANTAM.—Account of his Court, and our Entertainment there.—The King's Procession to the Mosque.—Cargo completed. Departure from BANTAM.—Anchorage at the Island ONRUST.*

HAVING discharged the cargo of the ship, and taken in ballast, I received orders from the governor general, to go to *Bantam*, to take a cargo of pepper on board. My departure was fixed for the 10th of May, and I was likewise directed to hoist an ensign at the maintop, as soon as we were out of sight of the road of *Batavia*, because Mr. VAN TEST, senior merchant, and ex-commissary of inland affairs, together with Mr. DE MEYER, counsellor of justice, and some

more company, both ladies and gentlemen, were on board, and were to go the voyage to *Bantam* with me; although this mark of distinction was not properly due to any one of them, unless they had been on commission in behalf of the Company's government, which was not the case.

We accordingly sailed on the appointed day, the 10th of May, having on board eight chests of money, containing fifty thousand Spanish dollars, which were to be given in payment for pepper, to the king of *Bantam*.

At two o'clock, p.m. we anchored abreast of the island *Onrust*, as the seabreeze began to blow pretty strong against us.

We sailed again the next day, at daybreak, and in the evening, cast anchor abreast of the island called *De Groote Combuis*, or the *Great Furnace*, whence we set sail again, on the 12th, in the morning, and anchored at three o'clock, p.m. before the city of *Bantam*, close to a small island called *Het Hollandsch Kerkhof*, or the *Dutch church-yard*.

We saluted the East-India Company's commandery here, with thirteen guns, and had

had our salute returned, with the same number. Before we reached the road, Mr. REINOUTS, the commandant at *Bantam*, came on board, to welcome the company who were with me; and they all went on shore together, at four o'clock. I soon followed them, and Mr. REINOUTS very politely offered me the use of his house and table, while I remained at *Bantam*, which I thankfully accepted.

The gulph or bay of *Bantam*, bounded by the point of the same name, and that of *Pontang*, forms a commodious retreat for ships, large numbers of which may anchor in it in safety. Many small islands lie scattered up and down in it; and they afford an agreeable prospect to the ships in the road. These islands are all uninhabited, except *Pulo Panjang*, or the *Long Island*, which is the largest, and on which some fishermen reside. There is a great plenty of fine fish here, among which the inhabitants of *Bantam* prefer one called the *kaalkop*, or *bald-head*, which has some resemblance to cod. It is at the bottom of the bay that the city of *Bantam* is situated, full a quarter of an hour's

hour's walk from the seaside. It lies between two branches of a river, which descends from the mountains. The distance from *Batavia* is about thirteen Dutch miles\*, or leagues.

The communication between these two places by land, is very difficult; owing to the thick forests, and deep morasses, which lie between them. These obstacles render the road by land, nearly impracticable, at least for Europeans: for this reason, people go by water, making use of the land and sea winds, which seldom fail, and which drive the light Indian vessels or *proas*, called *flyers*, to and fro, along the coast, with surprising celerity. I was told that they sometimes took up no more than four hours in the passage.

The river of *Pantam* is only about 170 or 180 feet over, at its mouth. It is likewise very shallow, so that at low water, a common ship's boat does not lie afloat in it. It is beset with wooden piles, on both sides, as far as Fort *Speelwyk*; but they are kept in very indifferent repair, which is a pity, as they would

\* A Dutch mile, which they in general call an hour, is about three miles and a half English. T.

be of service, to prevent the shifting of the sand. At high water, and in spring tides, it is from five to seven feet deep, and small Indian vessels can then enter the river.

Though this is called the river of *Bantam*, it is properly only a branch of it. The river itself is divided above the town, into three channels, of which this is the middle one, the two others run into the sea, about a league and a half off, on each side.

*Bantam* lies in an extensive plain, behind which there is a range of high and mossy mountains, that extend far to the southward. I cannot determine respecting its size, not having had an opportunity of going round it: it must certainly, however, be called a large city, for I have often walked straight on for a whole hour, without reaching the end. I did not perceive any walls or fortifications toward the sea, nor any on the landside, except Fort *Diamond*, in which the king's palace stands; notwithstanding several travellers talk much about them. You enter the town without perceiving it, and would rather suppose yourself to be in a grove of cocoanut-trees, than in a city. The houses, if huts

nature, wattled up with reeds or canes, plastered with clay, and covered with leaves or *attap* \*, may deserve that appellation, are scattered to and fro, without any order or symmetry of streets, and round each of them is a plantation of cocoanut-trees, the whole surrounded by a paling of split bamboo, by which every family is wholly separated from its neighbours..

A quarter of a league from where the city begins, towards the mountains, is a large open field, called the *Pascébaan*, where three roads (for streets they cannot be called, having no resemblance to such), leading from different quarters of the town, unite to the westward of the river. This forms the eastern, as part of the city does the southern, boundary of the *Pascébaan*, while the royal mosque is situated on the north, and the king's palace on the west side of it. In the middle of this plain stands a large *weringa* tree †, which extends its spreading branches on all sides, and affords a perpetual

\* This is the name given to the leaves of the palm-tree, used for covering of houses. T.

† *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

and agreeable shade. At the foot of this tree, is a grave, covered with a large blue stone, in which the body of one of the former kings of *Bantam* lies buried, and which the inhabitants look upon as a very holy place, and revere it greatly. A little farther off, on the other side, is a building, which rests upon posts, rising ten or twelve feet out of the ground. The roof is supported by an appearance of pillars. It is used as a place of circumcision, for the children of the king; and on such occasions, it is hung round, and richly decorated, with costly tapestry, and pieces of cloth.

The name of this field, the *Pascébaan*, is that which is given throughout the east, to those places where their princes divert themselves, with horse-races and similar exercises. All their courtiers and great men must then appear on horseback, and in magnificent apparel, to contend in the races with the king or his sons; always, however, with the proviso, that they yield the palm of victory to their royal competitors.

The mosque or temple, mentioned above, stands at the end of a little pleasant lawn: it is surrounded by a high wall, and is almost square.

square. It has five roofs above each other, all decreasing in size upwards, till the last terminates in a point ; the eaves of the lowest, jut out much beyond the walls of the temple. Close by, is a high, but slender, spire, which serves, like the *minarets* in Turkey, to announce the hours of prayer. Neither Christian nor Pagan may enter this temple, upon pain of death. Indeed there is little to be seen in it, as I was informed, more than a parcel of benches, and a sort of pulpit, in which the king sometimes performs the service as priest ; as I shall have occasion to notice hereafter.

The royal palace, which stands on the west side of the *Paséébaan*, is built within a fortrefs, which is called the *Diamond*. This is an oblong square, eight hundred and forty feet in length, and nearly half as broad. It has regular bastions at the four corners, and several semicircular places of arms on the sides. I counted sixty-six pieces of cannon in this fortification, the greatest part brass, and mostly heavy artillery, but old, and few of them serviceable. The touch-holes of some were so worn away, that a small teacup could easily be passed through them.

them. There were several with the arms of Portugal, and a few with those of England; likewise five or six brass cannon, founded by the Javanese. These last had two strong iron rings, round the chace, at the mouth, and two at the chambers, to secure the piece from bursting. They appeared to me to be twelve-pounders. The four bastions point to the four middle points of the compass, N.E. S.E. S.W. and N.W. The walls are built of hard stone, and are fourteen or fifteen feet in height. Every expence relative to the reparation and keeping in order of the fort, and of the artillery, must be defrayed by the king, by whose predecessors it was erected in the latter part of the last century.

The Dutch East-India Company keep a garrison in it, consisting of one captain, three subalterns, and one hundred and thirty privates. This force serves nominally to defend the person of the king from all hostile attempts; but, in fact, to have him always in the Company's power. None of his subjects, either high or low, not even his sons, are allowed to approach his person, without the knowledge of the captain of the

Dutch

Dutch military, who receives information respecting the king's visitors, from the guard at the gate, and transmits it, from time to time, to the commandant at Fort *Speelwyk*. No Javanese or Bantammer is ever allowed to pass the night, within the walls of the fort.

A wet ditch runs round it, but this would be a trifling obstacle to the operations of an European enemy; for it is entirely neglected, and in many places almost dry. On a stone over the gate, is an inscription in Dutch, by which it appears that the fortress was built by one HENRY LOURENTS, a native of *Steenwyk*, in the province of *Overyssel*. This man, fearing the consequences of some crime or other which he had committed, quitted the service of the Company, and entered into that of the king of *Bantam*, who finding he had some knowledge of fortification, employed him in building this castle, after he had abjured his religion, and embraced the Mahomedan faith. Fort *Diamond* is not discernible until one is close to it, on account of the numerous cocoanut-trees with which the city abounds, and which impede the view; we must, however, except that side of

it, that faces the *Pacebaan*, where it is open to the eye.

The approach to it, is over a drawbridge, that is thrown over the moat. Between this bridge and the gate of the fort, is a space of ground, or esplanade, on the right side of which, stands a large building, with a square roof, open in front and at the sides, in which the ceremony of crowning the hereditary prince is performed. On the other side are the king's stables and coach-houses, the former well provided with horses; the latter, which are only wooden sheds, contain several coaches, which have at different times been presented to the king, by the Company, or their governors, and among which there are some that are venerably old, and in a taste truly antique. The king's *gomgoms*, a sort of musical instruments, of which I shall speak more at large in another place, are likewise kept in those sheds.

At the gate of the fort, an officer and four and twenty men, mount guard night and day. The palace is about twenty paces from the *corps de garde*, and is called *Dal'm*, which in the Malay language signi-

fies, *the inmost*. This is not a single or regular building, but consists of many dwellings united together, and covers nearly the whole space of ground within the fort. In the centre appears a square building, which has two roofs rising above each other, to such a height, that it is visible three leagues off at sea. It is mostly built of brick, and covered with tiles, but there is no regularity observed, with respect to its architecture, or scite. The walls of the king's feraglio are raised higher than those of the fort, to render it impervious to the eyes of the curious. The captain who commanded the garrison here, related to me, that two inquisitive mortals were once discovered, attempting to scale these walls, and were instantly put to death.

When the king's sons arrive at the age of puberty, they do not any longer reside with their father, but have each their separate feraglio or harem. All the servants of the palace are women, and even the attendant guards of the king are of the female sex; for, although, when he appears in public, he is accompanied by his Bantam life-guards, yet they are never admitted within

the gates of the fortress. These, besides their ordinary sidearms, *crisses* or long daggers, are provided with pikes, the iron heads of which are very long and broad ; and the king is likewise attended, when he goes abroad, by a guard of Europeans from the garrison.

The religion of the kingdom of *Bantam* is the same as prevails throughout Java, that of Mahomet.

In what relation this part of the island stands, with respect to the Dutch East-India Company, will appear in another place.

Fort *Speelwyk* is a fortress, which the Company caused to be built, during the civil wars, between Sultan Agon, king of *Bantam*, and his son (in 1682); and it was called *Speelwyk*, in allusion to the name of the then governor general of India, CORNELIUS SPEELMAN. It is situated on the east bank of the river, a very little way from its mouth. It is a square, defended at three of its angles by regular bastions, and at the fourth, by a demi-bastion. It is mounted with forty-eight pieces of cannon, of various calibers. The north, south, and west sides are covered by a wet ditch, which is, how-

ever, neither broad nor deep; and which has a communication with the river that washes the east side. The walls are constructed of a heavy and hard kind of stone, and are thirteen or fourteen feet in height, but in some places they are beginning to decay. In the interior of the fort, there is an open square, planted with trees in the middle, the sides of which, are formed by several buildings, in which part of the Company's servants reside. Amongst these, the house of the commandant is distinguishable above the rest, having lately been handsomely rebuilt, and amply provided with roomy apartments; one of which serves for a chapel. The other buildings consist in, barracks for the soldiery, warehouses, &c. The gate is very near the riverside, over which there is a drawbridge, and opposite to it is a pretty long street, in which the Company's servants reside, for whom there is no room in the fort, together with a few Chinese. The garrison is nearly equal to that of Fort *Diamond*, but a considerable number are generally confined by sickness; this place being considered as even more unhealthy than *Batavia*.

The chief authority, in behalf of the Company, is here vested in a senior merchant, with the title of commandant, who has likewise the management of the trade, which chiefly consists in pepper, and some cotton-yarn. This officer, however, is under the immediate controul of the local government at *Batavia*, whence he receives orders, and whither he sends reports, nearly every day; for *Bantam* is only looked upon as an outpost or dependency of *Batavia*: whereas other Commanderies, which are situated at a greater distance from the capital, are only subject to the orders of the council of India. Yet the commandant here, has likewise a council, consisting of the administrator, or second in command, and some of the servants of the Company following next in rank. There is also a fiscal for the purpose of preventing the illicit or smuggling trade. One *BAYARD*, who filled this office in the preceding year, had accused the commandant of having himself engaged in these underhand dealings with the English; but the accuser died in good time, and the accused was acquitted of the charge. The actual commandant,

J. REINOUTS, was a native of *Enkhuizen* in North Holland, and had enjoyed the appointment for some years. I was told at *Batavia*, that he paid great attention to the Company's pepper-trade. Whenever he goes out in state, he is escorted by a guard, consisting of one non-commissioned officer and twelve privates. He is addressed by the title of *achtbaar heer*, or worshipful sir, and his inferiors never approach him but with the deepest respect.

To the Commandery of *Bantam* also belong the residencies, or factories which the Company possess, at *Lampong Toulan Bauwang*, and *Lampong Samanca*, both situated in the southern part of the island *Sumatra*. These are subordinate or conquered provinces of the kingdom of *Bantam*, and yield a considerable quantity of pepper annually. The officers of the Company who reside there, are chiefly stationed, in order to keep a watchful eye upon the spice, that it do not fall into any other hands than their own. They have both the rank of book-keepers, and have each a few soldiers, and a non-commissioned officer with them. The resident at *Toulan Bauwang*, had been publicly

lily beheaded at *Batavia* two or three years before; he had caused one of the grandees of the king of *Bantam*, and who was his deputy there, to be shot dead in cold blood. The governor general did all that could be done to save his life, but the remonstrances of the court of *Bantam* were so strong and pressing, that at last he was obliged to be put to death. He underwent the punishment with the greatest fortitude and composure.

There are two other outposts, which are likewise taken from the garrison of *Bantam*, one at *Anjer*, or *Aniar*, and the other at *Jeritta*, both places in that kingdom, but each consists of no more than two men. They are chiefly set, for the purpose of watching the ships that arrive, of which they note down the names, and the places whence they come, and immediately give information of them, to the commandant at *Bantam*, who, in his turn, transmits it to the governor general at *Batavia*. This is done with respect to Dutch, as well as to foreign vessels.

The day after our arrival, the chests of money were taken from on board, and car-

ried on shore ; part of the ballast was discharged, and every thing made ready to ship the pepper. This was begun to be effected on the 15th of May, and on that day we took on board, about 70,000 pounds weight. The delivery of the pepper was made out of the king's warehouses, situated near the river, after having been weighed by one of his servants, by weights of 250 pounds each, in the presence of eight or nine of his *inghebées*, or princes, who took an exact account of the whole ; a servant of the Company deputed for that purpose, and one of my ship's officers, being likewise present, to prevent every kind of fraud. It was afterwards carried down the river, in flat-bottomed boats, and put on board, while a guard was stationed in every boat, to prevent any pepper being stolen ; for the Bantammers are greatly addicted to this vice. Heavy goods are weighed here by *bbars*, each containing three *picks*, and these last are estimated at one hundred and twenty-five pounds.

While the loading of my ship was going on, I now and then made an excursion inland, together with the Company from Batavia,

tavia, to some *paffar*, or market. In these, on certain days of the week, all kinds of goods, but more especially the country provisions, are exposed for sale. We likewise paid a visit to a place, situated about a Dutch mile and a half out of the city, which is called *Grobbezak*. It is an old and very ruinous four-cornered building, standing on a square piece of ground, of about ten or eleven acres, surrounded with water which is three hundred feet broad. A bridge formerly led to this little island, the remains of which were still to be seen in the water; but at present no one attempts to go over to it, for fear of the alligators or crocodiles, which inhabit the water. We, however, saw none of these animals. The natives believe, that no person could live in this building, on account of the evil spirits which reside there. It is, in all probability, a relic of the Portuguese. Sitting on a little eminence opposite to it, there is an echo, which plainly repeats a word five or six times.

Another day, we went to view the tomb of one of the principal saints of the Bantammers. This lay full two Dutch miles from the city, upon a hill, of about two hundred

hundred feet high. Hard by is a little village, called *Bodjo Nogare*. It is not far from the sea, into which the rivulet which runs close to it, discharges itself. There is a *paffer* or market, held here every Saturday, for provisions, cotton-yarn, capok \*, and other productions of the land. At the top of the hill which is called *Vounong Santri*, from the name of the saint, stands the tomb, which is made of brick, and is no more than twelve inches above the ground. At the head and feet, stand two cylindrical stones, of three feet in height, like small pillars, which the Javanese cover with a piece of white cotton cloth, in honour of their saint. The whole is surrounded by a kind of low white stone wall, raised a little higher than the tomb. The natives pay extraordinary respect to this holy repository of the dead, and would not suffer any one to

\* *Capok*, is the denomination given to the cotton, which incloses the seed, in the capsule of the silk-cotton-tree (*bombax pentandrum*), and is not used for spinning, but for making matrasses, bolsters and pillows. The other cotton is the produce of a perennial shrub (*gossypium herbaceum*). Its seed-vessels contain a very fine cotton, called *capas*, which is woven into an infinite number of cotton and callico pieces, of various degrees of fineness. T.

commit an indecorous action, or ease nature, near it, without severe punishment. They are persuaded, that even if any animal were to void its excrement upon the tomb, it would instantly drop down dead. Their legends relate, that this saint walked dry-shod over the sea, in the presence of a multitude of faithful musselman, and could pass many days and nights, without taking any kind of nourishment. Close by the tomb there is a shady tree, round which a cubeb-plant, which produces the long pepper, twines its luxuriant branches.

Shortly after our arrival at *Bantam*, Mr. VAN TETS, and the company that were with him, had asked leave to pay their respects to the king, and the 17th of May was fixed upon, for that purpose.

Accordingly, on that day, three of the king's courtiers, magnificently arrayed in the Javanese fashion, came to fetch the company, at the head of whom was the commandant REINOUTS, while I likewise made part of it. The garrison of fort *Speelwyk* was under arms, and drawn out in two files, from the commandant's house to the gate, whither we had to walk between them.

them. Having passed the drawbridge of the fort, we found there in waiting, three of the king's coaches, with European coachmen, dressed in his livery, which is yellow, with red flowers. The deputies from the court, desired the company to take their places, in the secoaches. In the first, were seated the ladies of the company ; in the second, was the commandant REINOUTS, and Mr. VAN TETS, escorted by the usual guard of the former, consisting in twelve grenadiers, and preceded by ten of the king's bodyguards; and in the third coach, followed the rest of the company.

We rode in this order, over the *Pascébaan*, as far as the drawbridge of fort *Diamond*, where we left our equipages ; and coming over the bridge, found part of the sultan's bodyguards, likewise ranged in two files, as far as the gate of the fort. They were armed with half-pikes, and were naked down to their middle, which was girded by a piece of dark blue or blackish cotton cloth, which came round between their legs, and hung about half way down their thighs.

While we were passing between their ranks, the *gomgoms*, and other Indian musical instruments,

instruments, were played. Coming to the gate of the fort, we were met by the king, who took the commandant REINOUTS, and Mr. VAN TETS, by the hand, and led them in, while we slowly followed in procession. Within the gate, stood the guard under arms, and the drums were beat incessantly. There were besides two trumpeters stationed at the entrance of the palace, and dressed in the king's livery, who sounded a lusty peal of wind-music.

The entrance to the palace, is through an arched gateway; the plastering of which was, in all likelihood, once of a white hue, but now appeared very black and dirty. It had, upon the whole, more the appearance of a prison than of a regal palace, and gave me but a very indifferent idea of the inside. Passing hence, we came into a large hall, which seemed, to the eye, to be about fifty-five or sixty feet in length, and of about half that breadth, with a tolerably lofty ceiling, built archwise, and seemingly wainscoted. The walls were whitewashed, but looked very dirty, so that it was easily to be seen that little attention was paid to them. The floor was paved, diamondwise, with

square

square red tiles. The light and air were let in, on the north side, through three windows, and two large doors, opening towards the inner buildings of the court, which wore likewise not the most inviting appearance.

The door by which we entered, was at the lower end of the hall; at the other end, was another, leading to the remaining apartments. Near it stood a couch, covered with yellow satin; and also a kind of bedstead, with doors; the whole lacquered in the Chinese fashion. A little lower, was an oblong square table, with a yellow cover, adorned with red flowers; and on it stood three large chased silver dishes, with *siri* leaves, *areca* nut, and the further requisites for the preparation of *pinang*\*. Against the wall, were two side-tables, with beautiful marble slabs; and between them, chairs

\* *Pinang* is the name of the kernel of the areca-nut (*areca catechu*); but it seems likewise to mean, the mixture of the ingredients they use for mastication. The *siri* leaves are betel leaves (*piper betel*). Into one of these leaves, a piece of the areca-nut, which is generally divided into six parts, one of which serves at a time, being put, with a little lime, the leaf is folded together, and kept in the mouth till all the strength is drawn out of it. The universality of the practice of chewing betel and areca, throughout the east, is well known. T.

of walnut-tree wood, made in the European fashion.

At the lower end of the room, was a large mat of split rattans, spread upon the floor, on which the king's courtiers, with the prince, or prime minister, who had the administration of the empire, at their head, sat down upon their heels, as soon as we had taken our places at the table. The king, having led the two abovementioned gentlemen into the room, placed himself upon a raised chair, at the upper end of the table. Next to him, on the left hand, having his face turned towards the windows, sat the commandant REINOUTS, then Mr. VAN TETS, and the other gentlemen of the company. On the opposite side of the table, on the right hand of the king, sat his first queen, the mother of the prince, heir apparent of the crown; next to her was Mrs. VAN TETS, then the second queen, then followed the lady second in rank of our company, then the third queen, then again one of our ladies, and the fourth queen, and next to her, the last on that side, sat a little boy, the son of Mr. VAN TETS.

The two first of these queens seemed to  
be

be already pretty far advanced in years, but the two others were younger, and, though somewhat brown, looked very well; yet I remarked some of the female slaves, who served us, who were incomparably handsomer and fairer than any of the four legal wives of the king. Their dress too, had not any thing peculiarly graceful in it, consisting in long chintz *kabays*, or robes, of a sufficient fine quality it is true, but hanging loose down to the feet, in the Indian fashion, as I shall hereafter more particularly describe.

Their hair, which was of a jetty black, was combed smooth up over the head, and fastened behind with a wreath, which is here commonly called a *condé*, richly adorned likewise with gold and jewels. They sat on chairs, in the same manner as we do, although this is quite contrary to the general custom of the orientals, who every where are used to sit with their legs crossed under them. These ladies were very talkative, and conversed much with ours in the Malay language, while the chewing of *betel* or *pi-nang* was not forgotten, either by the Indian sultanas, or the Dutch ladies.

The king, who was addressed by the title  
of

of *Touang Sultan*, or My Lord the King, appeared to me to be a man of between forty-five and fifty years of age. His colour was a chestnut-brown, with a friendly countenance, which was not belied by his manners or behaviour. He had a little beard, and black hair, curling a little : he seemed more inclined to spareness than to corpulence. His dress consisted in a long Moorish coat, made of a certain stuff, interwoven with gold, which is manufactured at *Surat*, and is called *soesjes*. This hung down almost to his feet. The sleeves, which were loose and wide above the elbow, set close to the lower part of the arm, where they were fastened by a row of small gold buttons. Under this coat, he wore a white shirt, and a pair of drawers, that reached down to his heels, of the same stuff as the coat. On his feet he had Turkish shoes drawn on slip-shod, the forepart of which was turned upwards ; and white stockings on his legs. His head was covered by a round, and somewhat sharp-pointed, cap, of a violet colour, laced with silver. Behind his chair stood one of his female lifeguards, who was relieved from time to time, armed with a

large gold *kris*, in a sheath of massy gold, which she continually kept raised on high; and which the king, when he stood up to conduct us out, took from her, and put under his arm. Two female slaves, one on each side, were seated next to him on the ground. One of these, held his tobacco-box and his betel-box, both of which were made of gold, and of a pretty large size. When he wanted either the one or the other, it was handed to him, wrapped up in a silk handkerchief. The other female attendant, had a golden spitting-pot in her hand, which she handed from time to time to his majesty, as he stood in need of this utensil.

As soon as we were seated, pipes and tobacco were presented to us; after which the commandant REINOUTS and Mr. VAN TETS entered into conversation with the king, on indifferent subjects, in the Malay language. Hereupon the king called the *pangorang*, or prince, prime minister, who, as I have before mentioned, was sitting at the lower end of the hall, at the head of the nobles, to come to him. He accordingly crept along the floor, till he came near the king's chair, where he remained sitting on the

the ground, answering the questions which the king put to him. He often replied with the word *ingbi*, which is the Javanese affirmative, *yes*; but as I understood little of the language which was spoken, I was neither edified nor entertained by the dialogue.

About half past eleven o'clock, the cloth, which consisted in a white piece of cotton, was laid upon the table; and in a moment it was provided with a number of small dishes, filled with all kinds of Indian food, dressed in various manners. The chief ingredients of most of them were, however, fish and poultry, varied by numerous sauces, according to the custom of the country, of sugar, vinegar, or tamarinds. A square scarlet woollen cloth, was laid upon the table before the king, and upon this, the dishes were placed which were designed solely for his use, and of which he ate heartily. With regard to myself, it was only with the greatest difficulty, I could swallow a part of what was set before me, which was fish preserved in sugar, and which indeed I should not have touched at all, if politeness had not required that I should taste of something.

Mr. REINOUTS had taken care to provide himself with a few bottles of wine and beer, which it would else, have been in vain, to have looked for, at the king's table, and we could therefore, now and then, indulge in a glass of those liquors, during the dinner.

The king frequently broke wind upwards, during his meal, and his example was assiduously followed by all the gentlemen in company, which afforded matter of no little surprize to me. But I afterwards was informed, that this custom, so contrary to European notions of decency, was an etiquette of the court of *Bantam*, and was affected, in order to shew that one's appetite was good, and the viands tasteful, which was very pleasing to the king.

After this course was taken away, three large dishes of confectionary and pastry were put upon the table ; and these were more to my liking than what had preceded ; but neither the king, nor his queens, seemed to care much about them.

In the mean time, some large china bowls with boiled rice, and some dishes of fish, which came from our table, were set before the nobles, who were at the end of

the hall, and who speedily emptied them, with continual eructations, which echoed through the hall ; after which, they again sat down as before, upon their heels, each according to his rank. On their right hand, but separate from them, sat the second son of the king, who seemed to be a youth of about seventeen or eighteen years of age, of a good countenance, but squinting a little. I was told, that he possessed a good judgment, and more understanding and abilities than the heir apparent. This prince had his viuals brought him, at the same time with the nobles, but separately ; and he was attended by a female slave, who sat by him.

About two o'clock, we rose from table, and took our leave of the king, who conducted us out, in the same manner as he had led us in, as far as the gate of the fort, followed by the prince, his son, who led the counsellor MEYER by the hand ; the whole accompanied by the continued performance of music, by the *gomgoms*, trumpets, &c. Without the gate, the king took his leave, and returned to his palace, and we went over the esplanade, and the drawbridge, to

the same coaches in which we had come, and which carried us back to Fort *Speelwyk*.

Two days afterwards, it was announced to us, that the king would ride that day in procession, dressed in his pontifical robes, from the fort to the great temple, or mosque, to perform the service of their religion. Curious to behold this ceremony, we rode, at noon, to Fort *Diamond*, and took our places, so that we could see his majesty, step into his coach.

About half past twelve, he came out of the palace, dressed in a white sacerdotal robe, which was large and wide, and was fastened round his waist by a girdle. On his head he wore a large white turban, and on his feet large slippers, embroidered with gold. His coach was drawn by only two horses. As soon as he entered it, the hereditary prince and his brother, who were both dressed in a similar manner to the king, put their shoulders under the axletree of the hind wheels, as if they were going to lift up the carriage, and remained in that posture, till his majesty rode on. A horse of state, richly caparisoned, was led by the hand

hand before the coach. Close behind it, followed the heir apparent, on foot, under a *sambrel*, or sunshade, of state, and behind him, were carried three other sunshades, under which no one went. Next came the prince, prime minister, but without a *sambrel*; and after him, followed the brother of the heir apparent, and the other grandees of the court, with a numerous retinue of slaves, carrying each some utensil of wrought gold, for the service of the king, as his tobaccobox, his betelbox, his spittingpot, krisses, &c. and during the whole time, their usual music was not omitted; and the drum was beat incessantly.

When the king's carriage came upon the drawbridge, a gun was fired from the fort, to give notice to the people, who were assembled in great numbers on the *Pascébaan*, of the king's approach, who taking a turn over that field, rode on to the temple. His guards were stationed in two rows, reaching across the plain to the temple, with their faces turned from the procession. In a little less than an hour, the king returned in the same order, and with the same ceremonies, only when he came near to the fort, his

guards, part of whom were armed with firelocks, fired four volleys, which were answered by a gun from the fort. The king was received within the fort, by the Company's garrison, with drums beating, and colours flying ; and thus ended the procession.

I omitted before to mention, the reason why the heir apparent was not present, when we paid our visit to the king. That prince was then gone out upon a party of pleasure, to the neighbouring islands, to take the diversion of fishing. We saw him enter the river the next day, with a retinue of twenty-eight small vessels, all decorated with flags and streamers. That wherein his women were, was covered all round, so that nothing could be seen within it. All these vessels were crowded with people. The prince frequently made such excursions, as I was informed, but never without obtaining the previous permission of the king, his father.

In the mean time, the supply and shipment of pepper, went on so rapidly, that on the 28th of May, my ship receiyed the last of her cargo on board. This consisted of 3,010 *bbars*, or 1,128,840 pounds of black, and

*8 bbars,*

8 *bbars*, or 3,000 pounds of white, pepper. Every thing being ready, we weighed anchor on the 30th of May, about four o'clock in the morning, and set sail, saluting Fort *Speelwyk* with thirteen guns, whence the same number was returned, as the ensign was again hoisted from our top. The commandant *REINOUTS* remained on board till the next morning, when he took leave of the company.

Having wind and tide against us, we anchored at noon under *Pulo Baby*. We were joined here, by the Company's ships, *Ouderamstel*, *Ganzenhoef*, *Cornelia Jacoba*, and *Ritthem*; the two first coming from the chamber \* Amsterdam, the third from Horn,

\* The administration of the Dutch East-India Company, is, in Holland, divided between six boards, or *chambers*, having session at different places, *viz.* one at *Amsterdam*, which being the most considerable, is called the presidial chamber; this is composed of twenty-four directors, of whom eighteen are chosen by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, four by the cities of *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, and *Gouda*, and the two others by the provinces of *Gelderland* and *Friesland*; besides these, there are four of the chief proprietors, who, in certain cases, have session with the directors: the chamber of *Middleburgh* is the second in rank; it has thirteen directors, twelve chosen by the cities of *Zealand*, and the thirteenth by the province of

Horn, and the last from Delft. They had left Holland the 2d of October, of the preceding

of *Gelderland*, and two of the chief proprietors have session with them; next, the chamber of *Delft*, has seven directors, six nominated by the regency of the town, and the seventh by the province of *Over-IJssel*: the chamber of *Rotterdam*, which is the fourth in rank, has eight directors, seven elected by that city, and the eighth by *Dart*: that of *Horn*, is composed of seven directors, six belonging to *Horn*, and the seventh deputed from the city of *Alkmaar*, and one of the chief proprietors here, has equally a seat in the direction: the chamber of *Enkhuizen*, which is the last in order, has likewise seven directors, six nominated by the regency of the city, and the seventh by the body of nobility of the province of *Holland*; while also one of the chief proprietors has session with the directors. The places where these chambers assemble being all seaports, a certain number of ships is dispatched from each, the equipment of which, with the nomination of the captains and officers, are effected by these local assemblies, who likewise have the direction concerning the outward cargoes, determine of what they shall consist, and provide and ship them in course. But the supreme and general direction of all the affairs of the Company, is vested in what is called the Assembly of Seventeen, which consists of seventeen directors, deputed, eight from the chamber of *Amsterdam*, four from that of *Middleburgh*, one from each of the others, and one alternately by each of these four last. This assembly meets three times a year, and is held for six following years at *Amsterdam*, and the two ensuing years at *Middleburgh*. In their first sitting, they deliberate respecting the sale of spices, and the dividends to be made to the proprietors; in the second, respecting the orders to be sent out to India, and the answers to be given to the dispatches received

ceding year. We received their salute of thirteen guns, and returned it with eleven.

We sailed again the next day, but made very little progress.

On the 1st of June, we tacked, and sailed again towards the east, anchoring in the evening, close to *Menscheneeters*, or *Cannibal* Island.

On the 2d, we proceeded on our voyage in the morning, and cast anchor in the evening, by the point of *Ontong Java*.

received thence; and in the third, they fix the autumn sales, and determine the number of ships that shall be sent out, the expedition of which must then be effected by the respective chambers. This assembly of seventeen, appoints likewise the principal officers, who are at the head of the Company's affairs in India. There is likewise a council of ten directors, which meets from time to time at the *Hague*; but as it serves merely as a council, and has no hand in the direction itself, otherwise, than in giving advice, and in being the medium through which the Company communicates with the States General, it is not necessary to enlarge concerning it.

This was the form of administration of the Dutch East-India Company, before the late revolution in Holland; what alterations may be made in it, or whether the Company will continue in existence, is, in the present unsettled state of affairs in that country, impossible to say: we only know that the Company's charter expired some years ago; but being provisionally continued, upon the old footing, by the late government, the new one came last year to a resolution, that it should be continued, in the same way, for one year longer. The

The 3d, we were obliged to remain at anchor there, both wind and tide being against us.

On the 4th, we anchored at noon, by the island *Schiedam*, where Mr. VAN TETS and his company left the ship, and went up to *Batavia*, in boats which had been sent thence to fetch him. We fired a parting salute of thirteen guns, and struck the ensign from the maintop. At five o'clock, P.M. we came to an anchor under the island *Onrust*, where the ship was to be unloaded: the same evening, I went up to *Batavia*, to inform the governor general of my return from *Bantam*, and learnt from his excellency, that my ship was appointed to be sent to *Bengal*, thence to return again to *Batavia*.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Appointment of a new Director in BENGAL.—Departure from BATAVIA for BENGAL.—A Comet observed.—View of ORIXA.—Pagodas.—Point PALMIRAS.—Banks before the Entrance of the GANGES.—View of the Island SAGOR.—INGELLEE.—Fine Tracts of Country.—Village called DOVER.—The Old GANGES.—Anchorage before FULTAH.*

ON the 18th of July, Mr. B. V. T— was appointed by the council of India, to be director of the Company's trade in the kingdoms of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Orixa*, in the room of Mr. G. L. V—, who had given in his resignation of that office, in order to return to Europe ; which, however, he was directed to do, by way of *Batavia*, that he might render account to the council, of his administration. There were three other ships going to *Bengal*, but Mr. F— preferred to take his passage, on board of the *Snoek*, the one I commanded. Our departure was fixed for the 12th of August, which was full a month and a half earlier than

than I had expected ; my first destination having been, to have taken *Malacca* in my way, whither the ships do not sail, till the latter end of September.

In the mean time, the cargo had been landed, and the ship had been repaired, at the island *Onrust*, whence she returned to the road of *Batavia*, in the beginning of August, to take in her loading, for the factory in *Bengal*.

On the 12th of August, accordingly, Mr. F— left the castle at *Batavia*, at six o'clock in the morning, accompanied by some of the members of the government as far as the waterside, where, with two gentlemen, deputed for that purpose, by the governor general, he embarked in a boat, which waited for him, and came on board about seven o'clock ; the yards were manned in his honour, but no salute was fired. With him came his lady, and their little boy, with a number of slaves, both male and female. The crew of my ship consisted in seventy-four European sailors, and thirty-one Moors or lascars.

We weighed anchor, about eight o'clock, and set sail, steering towards the island *Onrust*.

*rufst.* We saluted the road with thirteen guns, which was returned by the admiral or flag-ship with three. At nine o'clock, having passed the sand of *Rbynland*, commonly called the *Commandant's Robe*, we hoisted the flag, at the maintop, which was the mark of distinction granted to the director F—— by the governor general, though only by special favour; for in the quality of director, he might only bear a pendant at the masthead. The governor general too, had directed me not to hoist the flag, before we had reached the above place.

It falling calm about ten o'clock, we were obliged to come to an anchor, and to lie still, till five P.M. when we again made sail, and at eight, anchored by the island *Onrust*.

The weather continuing unfavourable, we remained at anchor the next day, and took in some leagers of fresh water that had been sent after us from *Batavia*. A thunderstorm had done much damage to the powder magazine here, three days before; the roof had been wholly carried away, and the building had been struck by the lightning;

ning ; providentially there was no powder in it, at the time.

On the 14th of August, at sunrise, we weighed anchor, and set sail, with an easterly wind, directing our course between the point of *Ontong Java*, and the island *Middleburgh*, and afterwards between *Menscheneeters*, or *Cannibal Island*, and the *Great Combuis*, or *Furnace*, towards the point of *Bantam*. In the evening, about eight o'clock, we anchored abreast of the bay of *Bantam*, not daring to proceed farther, in this shoaly water, during the dark.

At four in the morning, the next day, we again got under sail, and came up to the island *Dwars in den Weg*, or *Middle Isle*, about noon, where the guard from the bay of *Anjer* came on board ; of whom we bought some turtles as a refreshment. The wind remaining favourable during the afternoon and night, we steered for the Island *Kraketau*, and then between *Prince's island*, and the *Flat* point of *Sumatra*, out to sea.

At sunrise, the next day, we could just see *Prince's Island*; whence taking our last observation, we set our course, w.s.w. as far as

as the eighth degree of south latitude, and thence steered due west, making much progress, with an uniformly steady s.e. wind, blowing in fresh gales, till on the 26th of August, when our computed longitude was  $102\frac{1}{2}$  degrees east from *Teneriffe*, or full  $250$  leagues west from the straits of *Sunda*, and thence we sailed n.w. and afterwards north as far as the line, which we passed on the 2d of September.

On the 30th of August, about half past four in the morning, we saw, in the eastern portion of the heavens, a comet, with a tail extended towards the w.s.w. of about eight or ten degrees in length, and resembling a feather in form. The comet appeared like a star of the second magnitude, but a little hazy. Its situation was between *orion* and *taurus*. Its distance, according to a rough observation of Venus, was  $50^{\circ} 39'$ , and full  $95^{\circ}$  from the sun; its exact altitude above the horizon, was at that time  $69^{\circ}$ , and its longitude  $62^{\circ} 21'$ . We were, by the ship's reckoning, in  $3^{\circ} 52'$  south latitude, and about  $100^{\circ}$  east longitude.

On the 14th of September, at four o'clock in the morning, I found that since the 30th

of August, and thus in the space of fifteen days, the comet had approached the sun about  $54^{\circ}$ , making full  $3\frac{1}{2}$  degrees per day. After that time, I did not see it again in the morning; for the sky was remarkably hazy, and beset with clouds at the time of its rise; and when afterwards the sky became clear, it was lost in the rays of the morning. In the beginning of November, we saw it again in the west, but much paler than before; the tail too did not extend so far to the east, as it had done to the west, and shortly afterwards it disappeared entirely.

It was on the same 30th of August, that the east wind failed us, and blew in a westerly direction, between W.N.W. and W.S.W. with heavy squalls, at intervals, and thunder and lightning, till we had got two or three degrees to the north of the line, where we experienced more steady weather.

We met with many ripples of currents hereabouts, and saw many of the birds, called cutwaters \*, and likewise pintados.

In  $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  north latitude, we observed, at sun-

\* *Ryghopalia*.

rise, a great change in the colour of the water, and immediately sounded, but found no ground with a line of a hundred fathoms. In the evening, the sea resumed its natural colour.

The 5th of September, we were in the latitude of the island of *Ceylon*, which we left just out of sight, to the westward. At sunset, we even thought that we caught a glimpse of the land, but we were not at all certain about it.

On the 12th, we again observed the sea to be discoloured, but still found no ground at a hundred and seventy-five fathoms. Many birds now flew near the ship, among which were some *pylstaarts*, or tropic-birds \*, with black wings, and a few land-birds ; and in the night we heard a great noise of birds. *Bemelipatnam*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, was then, according to our estimation, N.N.W. from us, at the distance of twenty-five leagues.

The next day, we steered due north, in order to fall in with the land, but met with nothing, except sea and rockweed, floating upon the water.

\* *Phaeton ethereus.*

On the 14th, we steered for the land N.W. under a press of sail, and about seven o'clock, P.M. we discovered the coast of *Orixa*, being the land of *Pondy*. It appears at first with three hummocks, separated from each other. We had then no bottom, with a line of a hundred fathoms, and found no change of colour in the water; but in the afternoon, we sounded in seventy fathoms, bluish clay. In the evening, we were abreast of the hill of *Carepare*, four or five leagues from the land, and found that since our last observation, at *Prince's Island*, we had deviated, one and twenty leagues more to the east, than we computed by the ship's reckoning. The shore is not high, but has sandhills at intervals, between which the land appears covered with trees. In passing along the coast, two large *pagodas*, or heathen temples, make their appearance. One of these is call the *pagoda* of *Jagernate*, and equals any temple of the Gentoos in all Indostan.

These pagodas are said to contain immense riches, from the innumerable confluence of penitents and pilgrims, who repair thither from all parts, and deposit rich presents

fents in them, each according to his abilities, in order to obtain remission of their sins. It is further related, that the *pagoda* of *Jagernate*, was built by a certain corsair of that name, who, having amassed immense riches by his piratical excursions, erected this sanctuary, as a compensation to heaven for his misdeeds. The period, however, when this happened, seems to be now entirely forgotten. This temple appears from the sea like a lofty, but obtuse, steeple, while the other, has some resemblance to a two-mast vessel under sail.

We did not get much farther the next day, on account of its falling calm ; and at sunset, we found ourselves before the mouth of the river of *Mirzapour*, about two leagues from the shore, which had a very pleasant appearance, being every where covered with trees. Our latitude at noon had been  $19^{\circ} 48'$  north.

The following day, in the afternoon, finding that the currents, setting to the southward, drove us greatly back, we were obliged to come to an anchor, in seventeen fathoms, full two leagues off shore. In the night, we hailed an English snow, who told

us, they came from *Calcutta*, and were bound to the coast of *Coromandel*.

We were obliged to remain here at anchor, till the 18th of that month, when the force of the current was much abated, and we again set sail, but found ourselves under the necessity of working farther down, the westerly winds having changed, and beginning to blow from the east. We, however, were able to get to windward of Point *Palmiras*, in the night between the 19th and 20th, and at daybreak, coming in sight of the Dutch pilotboats, that were cruizing here to meet the ships that were expected, we took a pilot on board. In the afternoon, we saw the high land of *Ballafore*, and anchored at sunset, before the outermost bank of the *Ganges*. Here we could not see the land on any side.

There are two banks, or sands, which lie to the westward of the western mouth of the *Ganges*, or *Hougly* River, and which extend from the land, about eight or ten leagues out to sea. What is called the head, or the southernmost of them, commences with the depth of ten fathoms, but shoals suddenly to four, and three and a half,

Ships sailing into the river, are obliged to run straight across these banks, the soundings upon and between which, serve for marks to the pilots, to find the buoys which lie in the channel, leading to the entrance of the river, by *Ingellee*. If in sailing over a ship runs aground, she is in the greatest danger of being entirely lost. The ground is a hard sand, that acts with a strong suction. These banks are, in consequence, never passed but at the very time of high water, and, for greater security, a pilotboat always sails about half, or three quarters of a league ahead, sounding, and making signals of the depth; while, when the pilots are of opinion that the water will not rise high enough, they rather keep the ships at anchor before the banks, till they can carry them over in perfect safety.

On the 21st of September, at half past eight, P.M. the pilotboat having made the signal that there was a sufficient depth of water upon the bank, we weighed anchor, and got under sail. Our ship drew twenty feet, and we passed the first bank in the depth of twenty-eight, and the second in

twenty-four feet water. At noon, being between the two banks, we were in north latitude  $21^{\circ} 19'$ , and at four o'clock P.M. we came to an anchor in the channel, by the buoy of *Boero Baly*.

The next morning, about seven o'clock, we again made sail, steering N.N.E. Atten, we saw the island *Sagor*, which we left upon our right. This island is long and low, and is esteemed sacred by the inhabitants of *Bengal*, who hold it in great veneration. A little after noon, we passed the road of *In-gellee*, and we here began to see land on both sides of the river, having hitherto, from the island *Sagor*, only had it on the right hand. The land is here, at the mouth of the river, very low, and on coming from sea, it is not visible farther off than three leagues. At three o'clock we passed the *Jennegat*, which is the most dangerous part of the navigation; for if a ship have the misfortune to strike upon one of the shoals, that make the channel here so narrow, it must be lost; as was the case two or three years ago, with the Company's ship, the *Lady Petronella*, of which only a part of the cargo was saved,

and

and the hull of the ship was in a short time entirely swallowed up, by the suction of the quick-sand.

At sunset, we came to an anchor before the channel of *Cajoree*, where a small vessel came alongside of us, by which I sent up the Company's papers to *Hougly*.

The following day, being the 23d of September, we weighed anchor about nine o'clock P.M. and sailed with the flood higher up the river, in six, five, and four fathom water. The water was very thick and muddy, occasioned by the rapid course of the river, the afflux of which was now at the highest. In the channel, the bottom was a soft mud, but the shoals, which were numerous, were a hard sand. At noon, we passed the *Haze*, or *Hare* Channel, which has both sufficient depth and breadth to be navigable by seaships. In 1768, the director V—— sent some pilots, and other proper persons, to survey this passage, that, in case of need, the Company's ships might be carried to sea, through the same, instead of through the *Jennegat*, and past *Ingellee*; but coming to the end of the channel, that entered the arm of the *Ganges*, which runs by

by *Dacca*, they conceived that the farther progress to sea was not advisable to be attempted by the Company's ships, by reason of the many sandbanks, of which they had no certain knowledge; and the examination ended here. The greatest part of the goods which are conveyed from the lastmentioned city to *Hougly*, pass through this channel\*.

Having proceeded thus far, the water deepened to ten and eleven fathoms, but the bottom was nothing but mud.

Hitherto, the land which we had sailed by, was an uninhabited wilderness, abounding in tigers, and other wild beasts. The banks of the river were mostly covered with underwood; but beyond the *Hare* Channel, we began to see a few houses and hamlets of the Bengalese inhabitants, scattered along them.

Inland, we beheld large level fields, some parts of which were cultivated; and between them were green pastures, which afforded a

\* From its situation in the map which accompanies this relation, the channel here mentioned would seem to be that, which, in the English maps, is called the *Baratulla*, or *Channel Creek*, though the circumstance of its entering the river which runs by *Dacca*, indicates that it must either be, or have a communication with, what we call the *Baliagot Passage through the Woods*. T.

most agreeable prospect as we sailed by. The higher up the river we advanced, the finer the country became : at times, we saw herds of a hundred head of cattle grazing in the pastures.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, we passed a village called *Dover*, where the English have built some warehouses, and a factory. There is a good and safe anchorage before it, which is much frequented by their ships, several of which we found lying here : close to it, a channel, called the *Shrimp Channel*, which runs far round into the country, falls into the river. At sunset we were obliged, by the contrary wind and tide, to come to an anchor at *Buffalo Point*, just below a place which the inhabitants call *Adam's-tomb*, and which is distinguishable by a delightful grove of fine trees.

The wind and tide prevented us from leaving this place, till the next day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when we set our sails, but did not keep them long bent, on account of a rising thunderstorm, which was accompanied by a violent squall, and which forced us to come to an anchor, two hours afterwards, a little below the *Old Ganges*,

*Ganges*, having, the whole of the night, much thunder and lightning.

The following day, at daybreak, we heaved the anchor, but could only loosen it, without bringing it home to the ship; and, by the narrowness of the channel, occasioned by the numerous sandbanks, as well as by the rapidity of the stream, we were obliged to drive up with the flood, stern foremost, dragging our anchor along the bottom, and at seven o'clock we passed the *Old Ganges*, as it is called by the pilots.

This river takes its rise so far inland, that no one has, as yet, been up it, as far as its source, as the pilots and other intelligent people informed me\*. The place where it unites with the true *Ganges*, is very unsafe for vessels going up or down the river, for there are dangerous sandbanks before it, and the tide runs, at floodtime, with a strong current into it, and ebbs equally violently

\* The whole course of the river *Roopnarain*, which is falsely called the *Old Ganges*, is accurately laid down in Major RENNELL's Maps of Bengal; by the consultation of which, the paucity of geographical information, respecting that country, in this work, may be amply supplied. T.

out. Just before I left Bengal, the English were intending to erect a battery of heavy cannon, on the point made by the confluence of these rivers, in order to command the *Ganges*, and to be able to prevent any vessels from coming up it. It is certain, that along the whole course of the river, a more suitable spot for this purpose, could not be hit upon, for ships passing it, have enough to do to work their sails, to avoid striking upon the fands, or being drawn into the *Old Ganges*, and are thus wholly unable to defend themselves from any attack.

When we had passed this place, we came in sight of our Company's ships lying at anchor before *Fultah*, who, as soon as they saw the ensign flying from our top, saluted us with seventeen guns, which we returned with fifteen. About half past eight o'clock, when the flood was spent, we came to an anchor by the *Lime* Channel. Shortly afterwards, the *equipagie meeſter* (comptroller of equipment) of *Hougly*, came on board, to welcome the director F—; this gentleman informed us, that an English East-India Company's ship had, eight days ago, been wrecked upon the seabanks, at the mouth of

the

the river ; her cargo, to the value of thirteen tons of gold \*, was entirely lost, and only forty of the crew saved.

The ensuing day, being the 26th of September, we again got under sail, at sunrise, and anchored at nine o'clock, before *Fultab*, in six fathoms water ; we found lying here, the Company's ships, the *Cornelia Hillegonda*, Captain I. S. HOEVE ; the *Land's-welfare*, Captain S. BOTH ; and the *Ritthem*, Captain A. VAN DER WEYDE ; the first from Europe, and the two last from *Batavia*. The two first saluted us with nineteen, and the last with fifteen guns, and we returned a salute of nineteen. At eleven o'clock, a deputation from the Council of *Hougly* came on board, to congratulate the director F—— on his arrival, and to conduct him to *Hougly*, bringing with them the Company's great *budgerow*, or yacht, in which the director was to proceed up the river.—I shall be more explicit, respecting these vessels, in my observations on *Bengal*.

This deputation consisted of three of the members of the council, two of whom were

\* A ton of gold is 100,000 gilders ; thus, at £.11.—per pound sterling, thirteen tons of gold are nearly 120,000l. T.

accompanied by their ladies. They dined on board, and stayed till four o'clock in the afternoon, when they embarked with Mr. F——, his lady, and child, in the great *budgerow*, and departed with the flood up to *Hougly*. At the same time, a salute of one-and-twenty guns was fired from my ship, and the flag was struck from the maintop, followed by nineteen, seventeen, and fifteen guns from the other ships, which concluded the ceremony.

## CHAPTER V.

*Passage up to CHINSURAH.—Siege of that Place by the Nabob.—Causes of this Misunderstanding.—The Siege raised.—Fine Prospects along the GANGES.—Bengal Conjurers and Balancers.—FULTAH.—Excursion up the River.—Manner of making Sugar.—Meeting with a Faquir, or Saint.—Burning of three Bodies of Bengalese.—Account of some ancient Buildings.—National Visit to the French.—To the English.—Instalment of Mr. F—— in the Directorship.—Great Famine at PATNA.—Departure from CHINSURAH.—From INGELLEE.—View of the Island SUMATRA.—Currents.—Violent Squalls.—Calms.—Anchorage before BATAVIA.*

THE following day, in the forenoon, when Mr. F—— approached the English settlement of *Calcutta*, he was saluted by nineteen guns from Fort *William*, and received the compliments of two gentlemen of the council of *Calcutta*, who were deputed from the English governor *Verelst*, in whose name, likewise, he was invited to dine at the settlement: Mr. F——, however, excused himself, on account of the indisposition of his

his lady. Mr. VERELST had gone on purpose to his country seat, about two hour's walk from *Calcutta*, in order to receive Mr. F—— on his arrival, as soon as he understood that his *budgerow*, was coming up the river. When he had passed *Calcutta*, Mr. F—— was again saluted from Fort *William*, with nineteen guns.

On the next day, on passing the French factory at *Chandernagore*, Mr. F—— was likewise saluted with nineteen guns; but, instead of deputing two members of the council to wait upon him, as the English had done, the French governor only sent a *chubdar*, or silver staff-bearer, to welcome him on his behalf.

Halfway between *Chandernagore* and *Hougly*, or *Chinsurah*, Mr. F—— was met by the director in office, who came to congratulate him on his arrival, with several *budgerows*; and they went up to *Chinsurah* together. Landing at Fort *Gustavus*, he was saluted with twenty-one guns, from the battery at the waterside, and received by the other members of the council of *Hougly* at the stairs, being then carried in state, in *palankeens*, through the great gate of the

fort, commonly called the *Lodge*, to before the director's house, while the garrison was drawn up in two ranks, with drums beating and colours flying; and the ceremony was concluded in the evening, with an elegant supper and ball.

There being an order of the Houghly council, that all captains should remain on board their ships, as long as the springtides continued, which commenced at the time of my arrival at *Fultab*, I could not accompany Mr. F—— on his journey up the river; the above particulars are, therefore, such as I had occasion to learn from others. This order to the commanders of ships, has its relation only to those springtides, which take place from the latter end of September to the beginning of November, because it is during that period that the monsoon generally breaks up; and there is great danger at that time, especially with springtides, as the stream then runs with the utmost rapidity, and the thunderstorms rage with the greatest violence.

On the 3d of October, the Company's ship, the *Valiant*, Captain WAGENDONK, arrived at *Fultab*, which ship left Batavia ten days before mine.

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That day, being the last of the springtide, I embarked at night, on board a *budgerow*, for *Chinsurah*, and arrived the next morning at the village of *Bernagore*; this is a place belonging to the Dutch East-India Company, which is situated halfway between *Chinsurah* and *Fultab*. In the evening I left *Bernagore*, and arrived about nine o'clock in the morning at *Chinsurah*. Of these places I shall speak more at large in my observations.

The same morning, the nabob of *Caffimbazar*, or viceroy of *Bengal*, had invested the place, on the landside, with a force of ten or twelve thousand Moors, and all the approaches and barriers were so closely guarded, that no one could go in or out.

This occasioned, in the ensuing days, such a scarcity of provisions, among the inhabitants of the village, that many of them perished for want. Mothers, driven by hunger, and

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compelled  
By strong necessity's supreme command,

brought their children to the dwellings of the Europeans, and entreated leave to sell these innocents to slavery, for a small portion of rice, in order to prolong their own

wretched life a little longer. To encrease the misery, the stock of provisions in the place, was found to be little or none. Besides this blockade on the landside, the Moors had also beset the river, above the village, so that nothing could be brought down by water; and from below, there was little to be obtained. While there was any rice, seven pounds weight were sold for a rupee, but it was soon consumed. A person who, from the outside, had contrived to throw some poultry over the barriers, in the hopes of gain, being caught by the Moors, had his nose and ears instantly cut off.

The cause of this unhappy affair was as follows:—The Company were bound to pay certain duties to the nabob, for the goods which were conveyed up and down the *Ganges*; but the money had not been paid by the director V— for a considerable time. The nabob, who insisted upon having them discharged, as they were in fact his lawful due, issued orders to the *fauzdar* of *Hougly*, of whom we shall take further notice hereafter, to claim the payment in the most forcible manner. This officer accordingly dispatched a *chubdar* to the director

rector V——, to require the money of him, threatening withal, that in case it were not paid, he would not suffer any more goods belonging to the Dutch to pass. The director took umbrage at this peremptory message, and after having violently abused the poor *chubdar*, sent him to the fiscal **DE SAUMAISE**, and had him bound to the whippingpost, and unmercifully flogged.

In consequence of this, the *fauzdar* caused all the goods belonging to the Dutch factory, which came down the *Ganges*, to be detained, and *Chinsurah* to be invested.

The goods thus seized by the Moors, consisted in calicoes and other piece-goods, intended for the cargoes of the ships which were to sail for Europe in the beginning of November. These vessels were detained by this occurrence, and could not now be ready in time. They were obliged to stay in the *Ganges* till the latter end of January, and were at last forced to put to sea in an unfavourable season. Ought not the misfortunes which these ships (two of which, the *Enkhuizen* and the *Valiant*, were lost with all their crews; and the third, the *Land's-welfare*, was saved with difficulty)

met with, from the bad weather they had to encounter in the southern latitudes, to be attributed to these circumstances, and to the bad management of Mr. V——? But to return to the siege of *Chinsurah*.

As soon as intelligence was received of the detention of these goods, the director V—— thought fit to order a detachment of thirty men, under the command of an officer, to go up the river in boats, to where the goods were lying, in order to effect their release by force ; but upon learning that a body of four hundred *sipahis* (sepoys), or Moorish soldiers, were posted to defend them against our attack, the expedition was laid aside. Hereupon the director V—— assembled the council, and informed the members of what he had lately done ; saying at the same time, that matters being now brought to this point, he neither dared nor could proceed farther, without the approbation of the council. Some of the members replied, that since he had proceeded so far, without their knowledge or approbation, he might go on as he had begun, without their assistance ; but the majority were of opinion, that the matter ought to

to be endeavoured to be compromised, through the mediation of the English. A deputation was appointed for this purpose, consisting of the head administrator, Ross, and the comptroller of equipment, VAN BRAAM, both members of the council; who so far arranged matters at *Calcutta*, with the English council, and the little nabob, or minister, MAHOMED REZA CHAN, who governed as guardian of the great nabob, who was a minor \*, that, upon a promise that the duties which remained unpaid, should be immediately discharged, the goods were released, and the blockade of *Chinsurah* was raised.

But instead of this promise being fulfilled by the director V—, these arrears were still due, when, in the month of March the next year, he took his departure from *Bengal*; and the cargo of opium and other goods, intended for my ship, would equally have been seized, had not the director F— taken upon himself to be personally responsible for this debt.

\*. MEER KANEYAH, otherwise SEYF AL DOWLAH, second son of the well-known MEER JAFFIER AELLY CHAN, a youth of fifteen years of age. T.

This lastmentioned gentleman was so much blinded by the first, and was so easily impressed with whatever ideas the other thought proper to instil into him, that, however much he was warned by confidential and intelligent people of the evil effects which would result from his compliant partiality, he continued to follow the inclinations of the director in every thing. He was even guilty of the additional imprudence, of confiding to him whatever had been said to him on the subject ; and he did not perceive the bad consequences of all this, till it was too late, and after the director V—— had taken his leave of the *Ganges*.

On the 15th of October, the Moors departed from *Chinsurah*, and the navigation of the river upwards, was again opened.

On the 10th, the festival of the *Ganges* had been held all along its banks, by the Bengalese, or Gentoos, after some preliminary solemnities of three days ; on which occasion, an incredible number of people came from the inland parts, to be present at the festival. I shall likewise notice it in my observations on *Bengal*, already referred to.

On the 12th of October, I went from *Chinsurah* down to my ship, lying at *Fultab*. Going down, I landed at *Serampore*, where the Danes have a factory; this is the most inconsiderable European establishment on the *Ganges*, consisting only, besides the village occupied by the natives, in a few houses inhabited by Europeans. Their trade is of very little importance.

The prospects of the country, along the banks, and on both sides of the *Ganges*, in going up or down the river to *Fultab*, are delightful; but they are all surpassed by that which offers upon passing along the French settlement at *Chandernagore*, upwards towards *Chinsurah*, *Hougly*, and *Bandel*; which last-mentioned place is just seen in the background: then the eye glances upon the buildings of *Chinsurah*, the church, the garden called *Welgelegen* (well-situated), with three stone terraces, raised one above the other, and where every thing that is of stone is whitened. Groves of ever-verdant trees appear behind, and, between these, buildings. In their front, the river, covered with small vessels and boats. A little lower, on the right hand, *Chandernagore*, which is built

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all along the river, and is embellished with many handsome houses. Before it, the ships at anchor, and moored with cables to the shore. On the left hand, fertile fields, and extensive meadows, affording pasture to numerous herds of cattle, and interspersed with pleasant groves and coppices. The whole forming a most interesting landscape.

Farther down, about halfway between *Chandernagore* and *Serampore*, is a place called *Garetti*. Here, on the same side with *Chandernagore*, the French governor has built a noble house, or rather a palace, and has laid out an extensive and pleasant garden. And in this neighbourhood, the English have a military post, where often one thousand men, and sometimes more, are encamped.

The whole of this country is flat, just as in our provinces. It is intersected and fertilized by numerous channels, creeks, and rivulets. *Bengal* is justly esteemed the most fruitful part of Asia.

Approaching *Calcutta*, many gardens, newly laid out by the English, make their appearance, which have handsome dwelling-houses, with an agreeable prospect towards

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the river. *Calcutta*, which is built on the left side in going down, about three quarters of an hour's walk along the banks of the river, makes likewise a very pleasing appearance. Before it, the ships lie at anchor, just as before *Chandernagore*, in great numbers. There are almost every day vessels which go to, and come from, every part of India, in motion here; which greatly enlivens the scene.

A little below *Calcutta*, stands a strong fortress, called Fort *William*, which, built upon the banks of the river, commands it entirely. From this place to *Fultab* there are many Bengal villages interspersed, some of which are very large.

On the 13th of October, I reached my ship, lying in *Fultab* road, and stayed some time on board. I occasionally went on shore in the evening, when the heat of the day was over, to take a walk; and often amused myself with seeing the tricks of the conjurers, and serpent-charmers. The former far surpasses, in my opinion, those of Europe. There were likewise balancers, who had a bamboo pole of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, perpendicularly resting on their girdle,

girdle, without touching it with their hands. A young girl of seven or eight years old, laying hold of it, clambered up to the top, where she laid herself on her belly, and throwing her arms and legs loose, seemed to swim in the air; while the man kept running backwards and forwards, with the pole, always without touching it with his hands. In about seven minutes, the girl clambered down again, and performed a number of other tricks. But on this subject more hereafter.

*Fultab* is a pretty large village, situated on the left bank of the *Ganges*, going down the river. The fiscal of *Chinsurah* keeps one of his officers here, to have an eye upon the illicit or smuggling trade, that is, in such cases, when matters have not been settled betimes with the fiscal, and a proper consideration made for his connivance.

The anchorage here is safe enough, when the breaking-up of the monsoons is not accompanied with violent hurricanes, for then it is very dangerous; which is, indeed, the case all up the *Ganges*. Ships lie here likewise protected from the swell of the sea, which sometimes, when the tide rises, is elevated

elevated to six and more feet in height, and rolls in with great violence, tearing the ships which it overtakes, from their anchorage, or breaking their cables, and dashing them against the shore, or the sandbanks. This swell never runs along the Fultah side, but only along the opposite shore. The bottom is a tough clay, in which the anchors often hold so fast, that they cannot sometimes be weighed, and the cables break in the attempt. When it happens, however, that the Company's ships lie a whole year in the river, they are then carried up to *Chinsurah* for some months, as was done in the year 1768, with respect to the *Valiant*.

On the 17th, the Company's ship *Enkhuizen*, arrived in *Fultah* road. She had left *Batavia* before me, but had touched at the Coast of *Coromandel*. Her Captain I. F. STROUT, had died on the passage. This ship was intended to be dispatched to Europe.

On the 18th, I received a letter from the director F——, informing me, that my ship was appointed to sail to *Batavia*, by way of *Coromandel*, and that I was to sail in the latter end of December.

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The next day I again left the ship for *Chinsurah*, which I reached the same evening.

On the 20th of October, a Bengalese woman was buried, with her deceased husband, alive, and on the 25th of November, another was burnt with the body of her husband; but of both these barbarous rites, I shall give the details in my beforementioned observations.

The ship, the *Snoek*, which I had hitherto commanded, being now judged too old, to attempt the passage to Europe, I exchanged, with the consent of the director and council, for that of Captain HOEVE, the *Cornelia Hillegonda*. This gentleman took the command of the *Enkhuizen*, by which I had at first intended to have gone, but being advised to the contrary, in order that I might take another trip to *Batavia*, whither the *Cornelia Hillegonda* was bound, I chose this last. My first lieutenant A. VAN ES, was promoted to the command of the *Snoek*; and the several changes took place on the 17th of November.

On the 3d of December, we dropped down from *Fultab* to *Ingellee*, at the mouth

of the river, together with the *Enkhuizen*, the *Valiant*, the *Land's-welfare*, and the *Snoek*, which last failed on the 29th of December, for the coast of *Coromandel*.

There being very little of importance for me to do at present, in the Company's service, I employed my leisure-time, in making some little excursions inland, or to the English and French factories. I likewise went a-hunting of foxes, jackals, and other wild animals, plenty of which are to be met with a little way inland ; but the Bengalese do not like to see this, for it is contrary to the precepts of their religion to kill any thing which has life. Their objections, however, have no weight, as they never can muster sufficient courage to oppose an European.

On the 5th of January, 1770, the English governor *VERELST*, leaving the presidency, passed *Fultab*, where two of our ships were lying at anchor, without receiving any salute from either of them, which was always customary. This afforded matter of great surprise to Mr. *VERELST*, as he had done all honour to Mr. F—, when this last passed *Calcutta*, as we have before seen. He sent one of his servants on board of the ships, to inquire

inquire of the commanding officers, whether they had not received directions from the director V——, or the council of *Hougly* to fire the accustomed salute? which they answered in the negative. The English government, complained in strong expressions of this behaviour; but were answered on the part of the director V——, that this was in retaliation of a similar affront, which he had received from Mr. VERELST on a national visit to *Calcutta*.

On the 14th of January, my mooring cable broke loose, but by the vigilance of my first lieutenant, we met with no damage. In the following night, however, the ship *Ritthem* met with the same accident, and ran aground on a sandbank. Being fully loaden, the cargo was obliged to be unshipped, and she was not got afloat again in a fortnight; yet she did not suffer considerable damage.

On the 29th and 30th, the *Enkhuizen*, the *Valiant*, and the *Land's-welfare*, sailed from the road of *Ingellee*, for Europe.

On the 31st, my ship, and the *Ritthem*, left *Fultab*, and proceeded to *Ingellee*, there to remain till the time of sailing. The rea-

son why ships do not tarry at *Fultab* so long, is only because the water of the *Ganges* becomes too shallow in this season, so that the *Jenegat* is dangerous to be passed. These vessels came to an anchor in *Ingellee* road, on the 7th of February, under command of the two first lieutenants.

In the mean time, I took another journey up the *Ganges*, and inland, in company with two of my friends, to view the country, and pursue the diversion of hunting.

On the 27th of January, we left *Chinsurah*, in a *budgerow*, at three o'clock in the afternoon, going up the river with the tide, and before the wind; and about half past four we came to the Channel of *Niafferai*, where we went on shore, and up the country. Here we met with pleasant plains of arable and pasture land, intermixed with groves of cocoanut, furi, mango, and other trees. The sugarcane was likewise cultivated in many places, and flourished luxuriantly.

We likewise observed, the manner in which the inhabitants make their sugar, which is very simple, the whole process going on in the open air, without much trouble.

They bruise the cane, between two chamfered rollers of hard wood, two and a half feet long, and of about six inches in diameter. These lie horizontally, one above the other, in two rests, so fixed, that the rollers cannot be moved, out of their relative position to each other, and leaving a space of a quarter of an inch between them. Each roller has four spokes, or handles, at the end, by which they are turned in opposite directions, by two men. The sugarcane being put between the rollers, is thus bruised, or flattened, to the thickness of a quarter of an inch, and its sap is pressed out, and received in a large earthen pot, placed for that purpose, under this simple machinery. About eight or ten feet off, are eight other pots, fixed in holes, into which they fit exactly, and which are made in the earth in a longitudinal direction. The dried canes, from which the sap has been expressed, are used as fuel under these pots, into which the sap is put, and boiled into sugar.

The country hereabouts, abounds in jackals and wild dogs, some of which we shot.

At night we went up higher, with the tide, and came at five o'clock in the morning

ing, to the channel of *Chogdah*, which lies on the right side of the river in going up (that of *Niafferai* is on the left), about eight or ten Dutch miles above *Chinsurah*. The village, which gives its name to the channel, stands a little inland. There is a great weekly market, or *bazar*, as it is called by the Bengalese, held here, where all kinds of provisions, and other goods, the produce of the country, are exposed to sale. The channel terminates about three Dutch miles inland.

On its left side, and upwards, the whole is flat land, without any trees; but on the right hand downwards, are many woods, in which there are tigers and other wild beasts.

We crossed a number of fields, without seeing any thing like a tiger; but on entering the woods a little way, we soon met with their traces in plenty, and we did not therefore think it prudent to venture farther in; for this animal seldom shews itself, before it can spring upon its prey, and when once within the reach of its claws, nothing can save a man's life. We likewise met in the way, the remains of a Bengalese, who had been torn in pieces by the

beasts of prey. For the rest, the hunting of jackals and wild dogs was not unpleasant.

In the afternoon, we sailed higher up the *Ganges*, to a place called *Gouptipara*, which is about six or eight Dutch miles above *Chogdah*. In our way, we passed a pretty large island, lying in the middle of the river, but which produced nothing but a little tall grass, and some reeds.

We found here that the flood only lasted three hours, while the ebb continued nine. About four or five Dutch miles higher, as the Bengalese, and others who had been at *Cassimbazar*, informed us, there was no flood, except a little in spring-tides.

It was late in the evening before we arrived at *Gouptipara*. At daybreak, the next morning, we went on shore, and found, about a quarter of an hour's walk from the river, a little village. Somewhat higher there was a wood of lofty trees, with much underwood, in which there was a great number of monkeys, and the wood was therefore named the monkey-wood. These animals were about the size of a spaniel, with long tails, which, when they ran, they turned upwards. The body was covered

with

with hair, of a grey colour, and the fore part of the head was black. As soon as we had fired one shot, they all ran up the high trees, and some of them threw their young ones, which they held between their fore paws, into the bushes below ; and whatever pains we bestowed in looking for them, we could not find them. The large ones sprang with an inconceivable quickness, from branch to branch, and from tree to tree. We shot some of them, and when the others saw these fall, they set up a most horrid cry.

The Bengalese were much displeased at this, and desired us not to kill any more of these animals ; for their superstitious belief in the transmigration of souls after death, makes them think that these creatures, in particular, are the receptacles of human souls.

Somewhat farther inland, we met with the ruins of a stonebuilding, in which a *faquir*, or saint, had taken up his abode. He sat by a slow fire, in the middle of the ashes, entirely naked. His hair was black, and very long, tangled and clodded with ashes and dirt, with which it was strewed.

He had imposed a singular penance upon himself, consisting in a brass ring, about the thickness of a quill, and three inches in diameter, which was passed through the substance of the glans of the penis, though in such a manner, that the urethra remained unhurt. While we were with him, a Bengal woman, in the superstitious hope of thereby becoming fruitful, came to kiss this disgusting mortal, on the part which was supposed to possess the prolific virtue required. We put many questions to him, on the subject of what we saw, but decency forbids the recital of his answers. Besides this ring, there were three other riveted iron-rings linked to it, which altogether, might weigh, as we guessed, about two pounds and a half. When he walked, he let the whole hang loose, without seeming to be in the least incommoded.

Those who torture themselves in this extraordinary manner, are held in great veneration by the vulgar. Many of these *faquires* wander about the country, and never need to be solicitous about their maintenance; for the superstition of the people, makes them even think it a great happiness to be allowed to

to give these sanctified beggars, who torture their bodies so unmercifully, for the love of religion, every thing necessary to their subsistence. I refer the reader, for a more ample account of this, to my observations on Bengal.

In the afternoon, we returned from the woods, on board of our *budgerow*, and went again down the *Ganges*. Here we found its banks every where very steep, and in some places so deeply hollowed, or undermined by the water, that parts of them, to the size of a house, had sometimes fallen in, which we could see had happened in several places.

At sunset, arriving at the channel of *Chogdab*, we ran into it for shelter during the night, apprehending that we should be overtaken by a thunderstorm, as the wind began to rise, and the sky appeared dreadfully black and lowering. We fastened our *budgerow*, with ropes, to both sides of the channel, because these vessels are easily upset by the wind, not having any support or hold on the water, on account of their flat bottoms.

Before the storm came on, we took a

walk along the banks, and saw three bodies of Bengalese burnt. This is done by the relations of the deceased, or by his sons, if he have any. They sit upon their heels, round the burning pile, smoaking their *gor-gor*, and feed the fire, with the greatest indifference, as if they were burning a beast, strewing the ashes afterwards in the *Ganges*. The bodies of those, who do not leave property enough to purchase firewood for this purpose, or whose relations are poor, are exposed by the riverside, to be devoured by the jackals, and other wild animals. These, likewise, as soon as it begins to grow dark, issue out of the woods, and come to the river, howling dreadfully all night long, while they also fight with each other for their prey. Some of them are often found lying dead in the morning, especially the wild dogs, who are not a match for the jackals.

We were obliged to desist from our walk, on account of its falling dark ; and we were warned by a Bengalese, that there were many tigers, who had their haunts not far from us, and who in the evening were wont to repair to the riverside.

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The storm came on about eight o'clock, and burst all around with tremendous force. The thunder was very violent, and the lightning so fierce, and shot in such broad flashes along the ground, that the whole neighbourhood seemed to be on fire. This was accompanied with such heavy squalls, that we durst not remain on board our vessel, but went on shore, and stood in the open air, though exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. The storm did not abate till eleven o'clock at night.

At midnight, we left the channel, and fell down the river with the ebb, but about an hour before daybreak, we were again obliged to seek for shelter, in the channel of *Niafferai*, as the wind began again to blow hard.

As soon as the day broke, we went on shore, in order to walk overland to *Terbonee*, whither we ordered our *budgerow*, to wait for us there.

The way led first through an extensive wood, which was filled with all kinds of birds, and afterwards over a level plain, mostly consisting of pasture-grounds. About an hour before we came to *Terbonee*, we entered

tered another wood, into which, having advanced a little, we met with an ancient building, of large square stones, which seemed as hard as iron ; for whatever pains we took, we could not, with a hammer, break any pieces off. The building was an oblong square, thirty feet in length, and twenty in breadth. The walls were thirteen or fourteen feet in height. It had no roof, and within it, were three tombs, four feet above the ground, made of a blackish kind of stone, and polished, with here and there some Persian characters engraved upon them.

The Bengalese believe, that this was built by a great magician, in one night, without the assistance of any mortal hand.

About forty paces farther, was a large, but very ruinous building, the roof of which consisted in five domes, or cupolas, which had been adorned with sculptured imagery, but which was much obliterated.

The Bengalese could not inform us of the purpose, or time, of the erection, but it now served as a residence for *faquires*, some of whom we saw fitting in it.

About ten o'clock, we came to the mouth of the channel, where we found our vessel, and went down the river to *Chinsurah*.

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On the 22d of February, the director V— and some members of the council, accompanied by their ladies, paid a national visit to the French governor, to which party I was likewise invited.

These visits are made annually, from one settlement, or factory, to the other, at the commencement of the year, or whenever a new governor, or director, enters upon his government.

Much ceremony is observed, when the visits are received at the place where the factory itself is situated; and therefore Mr. V— had intimated to the French governor, that he should prefer waiting upon him for this purpose, at his country-seat, near *Garetti*. In the afternoon, at four o'clock, we set off in six carriages, and reached *Garetti* at six, where the director V—, and Mr. F—, who was likewise one of the party, were received at the bottom of the steps ascending to the house, by the French governor, and conducted into a large saloon, in which the principal ladies and gentlemen of *Chandernagore* were assembled. About seven o'clock, the company were invited by the governor, to be spectators

spectators of a play, which some amateurs were to perform, in a slight building, which had been erected for that purpose.

When the play was over, which was about ten o'clock, we were led into a large room, and were entertained with an elegant supper, to which upwards of an hundred guests, both ladies and gentlemen, sat down. At one o'clock we took our leave, and rode back to *Chinsurah*.

The national visit to the English, to which I was also invited, was appointed to be paid on the 26th of the same month. This was chiefly intended to congratulate the new English governor, **CARTIER**, upon his appointment.

We were eight of us, who were present at the visit; and at four o'clock in the afternoon, we went from the director's house to the quay, where the Company's great *budgerow* was lying ready. The garrison was drawn up in two ranks, within the fort, and a detachment, consisting of an officer and twenty-four privates, marched before us, which was to accompany us, as an escort, and to serve as a body-guard to the director.

As soon as our *budgerow* put off from the  
shore,

shore, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the battery. Every one of the company had his own vessel to pass the night in, but in the day-time, we were all on board of that of the director, in which there was a room where six and thirty people could sit down to table. At the masthead of the director's *budgerow*, there was a Prince of Orange's flag \*, with the arms of the Union, and those of the other vessels carried a prince's pendant.

Besides ours, there were several other vessels, in which the soldiers and servants were embarked; two that were to be used as kitchens, the viands being dressed on board of them; and two as storeships, to carry the provisions. There were, in all, thirty-three vessels of different sizes, which formed a pleasing sight when they were all together.

In the evening, at half past eight o'clock, when the ebb began to fail, we came to an anchor, with our flotilla, a little below *Serampore*. \*

\* The *Prinsenvlag*, or Prince of Orange's flag, is the name given by the Dutch seamen to the naval ensign of the United Provinces, and the same that is still the national flag, being three horizontal stripes, red, white, and blue. T.

At four o'clock on the following morning, upon the turning of the tide, we again proceeded downwards, and at seven, we came to *Chitpore*, situated about a Dutch mile above *Calcutta*, where we stopped for the deputies from the English council, who were to come to receive the director and his company. Half an hour afterwards they arrived, and paid a visit of welcome to the director, in his *badgerow*. The chief of them was the second in command at *Calcutta*, Mr. RUSSEL.

After a stay of about a quarter of an hour, they conducted the director on shore; and, followed by the rest of the company, they entered a handsome summer-house, close to the river, which belonged to Mr. RUSSEL.

We found breakfast prepared for us here, and after stopping about an hour, we left this place, in five coaches, sent by the governor for that purpose. Six of his life-guards on horseback, dressed in blue, with gold-lace, rode by the side of the coach in which the director was. At ten o'clock we were set down in *Calcutta*, at the house prepared for the reception of the director V—. It was a very handsome building, provided

with many and roomy apartments, all furnished in the European style, and hung with damasked silk. It was the property of the little nabob, or minister, MAHOMED REZA CHAN, who had purchased it of an English gentleman, for 120,000 rupees, and always resided in it when he was at *Calcutta*; but as he was not now in the place, the English government had made use of it. On the area, before it, stood a company of eighty seapoys, under arms, commanded by an European officer, as a guard, in honour of our director; which continued to do duty as such all the while he remained at *Calcutta*.

When the director alighted before the house, a salute of nineteen guns was fired from Fort *William*.

As soon as we had entered the house, the director dispatched one of his *chubbars*, with a message to the English governor, who resided in the government-house, next to that in which we were, to enquire if it were convenient for his Excellency for us to wait upon him in a body. Soon after, however, came that gentleman himself, accompanied by all the members of the council of *Calcutta*, to welcome the director.

director. After the first complimentary ceremonies were over, Mr. V—— said, that the object of this national visit, was to congratulate Mr. CARTIER upon his accession to the governorship, adding, as a particular compliment, that he hoped Mr. CARTIER would so well manage affairs, as to be able to return to Europe in a few years; to which that gentleman replied with a smile, and expressed his thanks by an amicable interchange of civilities.

These compliments were made and returned, by the director in French, and by the governor in English, the latter not understanding French, nor the former English, while Mr. RUSSEL performed the office of interpreter.

This visit of ceremony lasted more than an hour. The governor then departed, with the gentlemen of the council. Half an hour afterwards, the director V—— went with us to pay a visit of ceremony in return, to the governor, which lasted about three quarters of an hour; at the conclusion of which he conducted us out, accompanying us to the steps, in the same way as the director had done upon receiving his visit just before.

About half past twelve o'clock, having been formally invited to dinner by the governor, we went again to the government-house.

Here we found, in a large and airy saloon, a table of sixty or seventy covers. The service was entirely of plate. The director was seated at the upper end, on the right hand of the governor, having, on the other side, the general of the English land-forces, being the third person in the council of *Calcutta*, or rather the second, exclusive of the governor. The other gentlemen in company, were placed promiscuously at table. Full half of the guests were officers of the troops, for whom the governor keeps every day open house.

When the cloth was taken away, a *booka*, which is a glass filled with water, through which the smoke of tobacco is drawn, and of which I shall speak further, was set before every one of the company, and after having smoked for half an hour, we all rose from table, and separated each to his respective dwelling.

The conversation was carried on at table, in a free and unconstrained manner, with-

out the company being under any fear or restraint, from the presence of the governor, or of other great men. The spirit of liberty, which animates a Briton in his own country, is repressed as little here, as there. This freedom and ease, is diametrically opposite to the stiff and obnoxious formality, which takes place at *Batavia*, in the company of the governor general, and the counsellors of India. Indeed, an Englishman could never brook the insupportable arrogance, with which the Dutch East-India Company's servants are treated by their superiors, as well at *Batavia*, as at the out-factories. It would be well, if this conduct remained solely confined to the Asiatic regions, which gave birth to it; but, unfortunately, we see it continued by purse-proud individuals, when they return to a country, where, from the most ancient times, it is known to be in perfect contradiction to the genius and temper of the inhabitants. It is certain that this is one reason, why there are so few to be met with, who serve the Company with fidelity, or a sense of honour. Every one attends solely to the main business, of well and speedily lining his purse; and all look to the time,

time, when they shall be able to withdraw themselves, from the insolent dominion of an arbitrary government, against which little or nothing can be said or done.

At six o'clock in the evening, Mr. CARTIER came to fetch the director V—— and his company, to take a ride to his country-seat, *Belvedere*, about two Dutch miles from *Calcutta*, where we were entertained with an excellent concert, performed by some amateurs, and an elegant supper. About twelve o'clock at night, we rode back to *Calcutta*.

The next morning, at nine o'clock, the governor came again to pay a visit to Mr. V——, and made him an invitation to dinner, and to a grand ball, which was to be given in the evening, at the courthouse. Hither we went, at seven o'clock, and the ball was opened by Mrs. CARTIER and Mr. V——.

The company were very numerous, and all magnificently dressed, especially the ladies, who were decorated with immense quantities of jewels. A collation was served in an adjoining apartment, and the whole

was conducted with great elegance, lasting till the next morning.

This day being appointed for us to set off on our return to *Chinsurah*, we went at nine o'clock in the morning, with the director, to take leave of Mr. CARTIER, and the other gentlemen who had been to see us, and dined at Mr. RUSSEL's, whence we took our departure, about half past three in the afternoon, in coaches, for *Chitpore*, where our little fleet was lying, ready to receive us.

The director was saluted, on leaving the place, as he had been on his arrival, with nineteen guns from Fort *William*. The six lifeguards of the governor, who always accompanied Mr. V—, when he went out, while he stayed, did not leave us till we came to *Chitpore*, where he gave them a handsome present in money, as he had done to all the servants of the governor who had attended him, which altogether amounted to full a thousand rupees, or fifteen hundred gilders.

The same deputies who had come to *Chitpore*, to receive Mr. V—, conducted him

him again on board his *budgerow*. We departed hence, at sunset, with the floodtide, upwards, and reached *Garetti* early the next morning, where we were received by Mr. **CHEVALIER**, at his country-house, and took our breakfast with him. We found here the carriages of the director V—, ready to carry us to *Chinsurah*.

At nine o'clock, we rode from *Garetti* to *Chandernagore*; and after having paid some visits in that place, we proceeded to *Chinsurah*, where we alighted before the house of the director F—, under a salute of twenty-one guns from the battery. Thence the director V— led us to his own house in the lodge, where we found all the members of the council, assembled to meet him; and were entertained at dinner by Mr. F—.

On the 8th of March, Mr. F— was formally announced, as director of the Company's trade in the kingdoms of *Bengal*, *Babar*, and *Orixa*, by Mr. V—, who had fixed his departure to be eight days afterwards.

On this occasion, all the servants of the company, from the highest to the lowest, assembled, at seven o'clock in the morning,

at the house of Mr. V—, where a costly breakfast was provided for them. The wives of those who were married, were equally present. The garrison was under arms, in the court-yard, within the lodge.

About nine o'clock, both the directors, with all the members of the council, ascended the platform, over the landgate, where the commission given to Mr. F— by the council of India at *Batavia*, was read aloud by the secretary, after which a discharge was made, of three volleys by the military, and one-and-twenty guns by the battery.

Returned to the council-chamber, the commission was again read, and Mr. V— addressed Mr. F—, and the members of the council, in a speech, by which he assured that gentleman, of his satisfaction, that the time was now come, when he was relieved from the heavy burden of an office, which he had filled for upwards of five years, during which period he had promoted, as much as his humble abilities admitted, the interest of the company; and adding, that his satisfaction was greatly increased, by having to resign his government into the hands of a most worthy successor, and his

sincere

sincere friend. To this speech, Mr. F—— replied by another, couched in the most polite terms, and in which he was not sparing in panegyrics of Mr. V——, and of his lady.

The whole ceremony was concluded in the evening, by a ball, given by Mr. F——, in the garden of *Welgelegen*.

The following day, the directors received a letter from *Patna*, which is a large city in the kingdom of *Babar*, about ninety leagues distant from *Chinsurah*, where the Company have a factory, for the opium and saltpetre trade, informing them, that the ravages of famine were there so great, that hundreds of Indians perished daily for want of food; so that our people avoided going out of the lodge, in order not to behold the misery of these wretched inhabitants, who lay dying in crouds, along the streets and highways, merely for want of nourishment. The survivors began even to attempt satisfying their craving hunger, with the flesh of the dead, in order to preserve their own existence. In this instance, the observation, that nature overcomes precept, was forcibly verified; for these poor, superstitious heathens, into

whom, from their childhood, an abhorrence of every kind of animal food is instilled, and more especially with respect to human flesh, on account of their belief in the transmigration of souls, now sought to prolong their miserable existence a little while, by devouring the flesh of their fellow-creatures.

The dire effects of famine too were felt in Bengal. At Chinsurah, a woman, taking her two small children in her arms, plunged into the *Ganges*, and drowned herself, not possessing, or being able to procure, any thing to satisfy the raging hunger of her tender offspring. The banks of the river were covered with dying people; some of whom, unable to defend themselves, though still alive, were devoured by the jackals. This happened even in the town of Chinsurah itself, where a poor sick Bengalese, who had laid himself down in the street, without any assistance being offered to him by any body, was attacked in the night by the jackals, and devoured alive; and though he had strength enough to cry out for help, no one would leave his own abode, to deliver the poor wretch, who was found, in the morning, dead, and half-devoured.

The

The Bengalese will seldom assist each other, unless they happen to be friends, or relations, and then the service that they render, only consists in carrying the sufferer to the water of the *Ganges*, to let him die there, or be carried away by the stream, and resign his breath in its waves; for they all trust, that by this means, they will be purified from most of their sins, and their souls be translated into the body of an happier creature.

This dreadful calamity was occasioned, partly by the failure of the rice-harvest, the preceding year, but it may chiefly be attributed, to the monopoly which the English had made of the rice, which was reaped the season before, and which they now held at so high a price, that the natives, most of whom could earn no more than one, or one and a half, stiver (penny) per day, out of which they had to maintain a wife and children, could not buy, for this trifle of money, the tenth part of the rice they wanted, the consequences of which were, that whole families perished miserably.

The evil was augmented by another scourge, almost equally calamitous, the small-pox,

pox, which attacked people of all ages, and brought many to the grave.

This added to the contagion which had already contaminated the air, through the number of half-putrified bodies which lay unburied, or unburnt, along the banks of the river; hence the mortality increased more and more, especially after my having left *Bengal*. The director F—— died of the small-pox, in the month of May ensuing, as I was informed, just before my departure from *Batavia*.

The heat of the weather now likewise augmented, from day to day, so that at noon it equalled, and sometimes surpassed, the warmth of the blood: men and animals could scarcely breathe; and, although the heat was considerably less within doors, than in the open air, it was, nevertheless, scarcely supportable to me, and to every one, who had not been used to it. Water was poured, from time to time, upon the stones of the court-yards round the houses, which afforded a momentary coolness, but it soon vanished before the scorching rays of the sun. The water taken out of the *Ganges*, differed only eight or ten degrees in warmth, from the air

in

in the shade where my thermometer hung; this stood, in the latter end of the month, at  $104^{\circ}$ , and, when I took the tube in my hand, the mercury fell to  $98^{\circ}$ ; whence it appeared, that the heat of the outward air, surpassed that of the blood, by  $6^{\circ}$ .

On the 15th of March, which was the day on which the director V—— was to leave *Chinsurah*, for the road of *Ingellee*, where the ship *Ritthem* lay ready to convey him to *Batavia*, all the Company's servants assembled anew, with their wives, early in the morning, at the director's house, in order to take leave of him and his family, and to wish them a prosperous voyage; for that gentleman thought himself of too much consequence to go to them himself, to take leave.

This conduct was strongly contrasted with that of Mr. FAILLEFERT: when he left the colony, although he enjoyed the dignity of counsellor of India, his affability, and other virtues, endeared his memory, as well to the servants of the Company, and to the other Europeans settled in *Bengal*, as to the native inhabitants. It was exactly the reverse in the instance I am speaking of, Mr. V—— being equally detested by them all.

At eight o'clock, the keys of the lodge, or fort, were brought in by an officer, upon a silver waiter, and were delivered by the director V——, to his successor in the directorship, Mr. F——.

A few minutes afterwards, having taken his leave of all the persons present, on which occasion the complimentary parade was even accompanied by tears, either of genuine regret, or of hypocritical affectation, Mr. V—— left the house and the lodge with his family; he was conducted by the whole assembly to the quay, where the *budgerows* were lying in readiness. On the way, he scattered some money from his palankeen, among the Indians; and was saluted, when he left the shore, by one-and-twenty guns from the battery. Mr. F——, with several other ladies and gentlemen, intending to accompany Mr. V—— down to *Fultab*, invited me to go with them, which I the more willingly did, having some affairs of my own to transact at *Calcutta*, where the director and his company were to stop two days, before they proceeded to *Fultab*.

We arrived the next morning at that place, where the directors were saluted with nineteen

teen guns from Fort *William*. We were all sumptuously entertained at dinner, by the English governor, and invited in the evening, to be spectators at a play, which, as at *Chandernagore*, was performed by some amateurs, in a house erected for that purpose. A little before the conclusion of the performance, Mr. F—— received a letter from *Chinsurah*, informing him, that his lady was at the point of death; whereupon that gentleman resolved to return the same night to *Chinsurah*, and requested me to accompany him.

Having done what I wanted for myself, at *Calcutta*, I was glad to return again to *Chinsurah*, as the time was fast approaching, when I was to leave the *Ganges*, and besides, the company I was with, was not the most agreeable to me.

At midnight, after having supped with the governor, we departed up the river in Mr. F——'s *budgerow*, and reached *Chinsurah* at seven o'clock in the morning, where Mr. F—— was received with a salute of one-and-twenty guns.

Mrs. F—— died on the 27th of March, and was interred, with great pomp, on the

29th. Her husband belonged to the fraternity of free-masons, and all the brethren, and the wives of such as were married, wore the mourning of the order, which consisted in a black ribbon hanging on the breast, with the insignia of the order pendent from it.

The departure of my ship was, in the mean time, put off from day to day, because the papers which were to be conveyed to *Batavia* by her, were not yet in readiness. This was chiefly occasioned, by the negligence with which the affairs of the Company had been managed, during the latter part of the administration of the director V——; and I was of opinion that this was designedly done, in order that, if forced to stay too long in *Bengal*, I might be necessitated to take my passage through the Straits of *Malacca*, in which case, there would be no possibility of my reaching *Batavia*, sooner than the middle of November; and even if the monsoon changed earlier than usual, I should be obliged to remain in the *Ganges* till the next season; so that he would have had an opportunity of sailing for Europe, before the papers, which were to come by my ship, would have reached *Batavia*, and which he was conscious would

would contain very serious matter, that would be of great prejudice to him, and, in consequence of the appearance of which, he would be obliged to remain in India, to render an account of his administration. His fears on this head were, in fact, realized, for I was fortunate enough to reach the capital in time.

At last these papers were got ready, and, on the 31st of May, they were delivered to me by the secretary of police; at the same time I received the dispatches for the governor general, from the director F—. This gentleman endeavoured to persuade me to stay that night at *Chinsurah*, being fearful that I should be overtaken by a thunderstorm, which seemed to be brewing over us; but having nothing in view, but to make all possible speed to leave the *Ganges*, before the bad season, which was very near at hand, should set in, I left *Chinsurah*, the same evening, in a budgerow.

It was when we were before *Chandernagore*, that the storm burst upon us, with loud thunder, and tremendous flashes of lightning, and the wind blew so hard from the south, that it was with difficulty we could get

get to *Garetti*, where we anchored at midnight.

The following day, rowing down the river with the ebb-tide, we passed *Calcutta*, in the forenoon, and at two o'clock in the afternoon, we stopped for the tide, at a place which we call the *Boter-tol*, or *Butter-toll-house*, and found ourselves under the necessity of lying here all night, on account of the violent southerly wind.

We fell down again the next day, with the ebb, but made but little progress, as we had a pretty high gale from the south, and were not able to advance farther than *Rajapore*, which is one Dutch mile and a half above *Fultab*.

At eight o'clock, A.M. on the 3d of April, we arrived at *Fultab*. Stopping here, we found a sloop, with the allowance of spirits for my ship. At nine o'clock, another arrived with a part of my cargo, and which had to take an anchor on board, for my ship, in the place of one that had been broken. Besides this, there were more goods intended to form part of my cargo, which had been put on board of small vessels, but which were not of a sufficient size to navigate the river

river farther down, in this advanced season of the year, and had therefore remained several days waiting for a sloop, in which they might reship their cargoes. Fortunately one arrived at night, into which the goods were all put. The cargo, however, was still incomplete; some part of it being yet expected from above, but I had no inclination to stay longer for it. I accordingly put off at nine o'clock, A.M. with the three sloops, in one of which I embarked, and sent my *budgerow* back to *Chinsurah*. At two, P.M. we anchored before the *Garnaale Spruit*, or *Shrimp* Channel, whence we set sail again in the evening, anchoring at one o'clock in the night, about half a Dutch mile below *Dover*. The next morning, at nine o'clock, we again got under sail, and proceeded downwards, anchoring at three, P.M. by the *Haze Spruit*, or *Hare* Channel, and at three the next morning, before the channel of *Cajorcee*. On the 6th, about nine o'clock, P.M. we again got under weigh, and came on board of my ship, the *Cornelia Hillegonda*, in the road of *Ingellee*, at noon.

We immediately occupied ourselves with shipping the goods conveyed by the sloops,

which took us up the remaining part of that day, and part of the next.

As soon as I came on board, the pilot who was to have charge of the ship out to sea, informed me, that he was very averse to undertake it, as the monsoon was already changed, and we had to expect bad weather every day ; and that if we were overtaken by it while we were between the banks, the ship would certainly run the greatest danger of being lost. However, after a small present had infused some courage into him, he promised to make the trial, provided I waited no longer for the rest of the cargo, which was still expected from *Chinsurah*, to which I agreed ; and thereupon calling the ship's council together \*, we were unanimously of opinion,

\* The captains of ships in the service of the Dutch East-India Company, are obliged, by their articles, to consult their lieutenants respecting the course to be steered; and if they cannot agree, a council is to be summoned, consisting of the five principal officers on board, including the captain, where the matter is decided by a majority of votes. This council likewise, takes cognizance of whatever, not relating directly to the navigation of the ship, may be called extraordinary circumstances ; and determines, among other things, respecting the diminution, or increase, of the allowance to the crew ; the touching at any places for reparation, or refreshment ; the time

opinion, that it was more for the advantage of the Company to leave what still remained behind, of the cargo, than to incur the risk of being obliged to stay with the ship in the *Ganges*, till the next season.

On the 8th of April, every thing being ready, we weighed, and fell down in the afternoon with the ebb, anchoring in the evening, close by a buoy, upon a ridge of sand that shoots straight athwart the passage. Weighing again with the beginning of the ebb, we worked farther down, against the s.w. winds, till on the 10th, we got safe without the banks, and into the open sea. By the pilot, who left us at midnight, I sent some letters up to *Chinsurah*.

We were now apprehensive, that, as we had to expect nothing but south-westerly winds, and our intended course was direct south, in order to get above the *Andaman* and *Nicobar Islands*, we should be forced below them, and thereby likewise fall to leeward of the point of *Acheen*, the northwest end of *Sumatra*; in which case, nothing would re-

time to be passed there, &c. as per art. III. IV. V. and VI. of the East-India Company's *Artikel-brief*, or articles of engagement, entered into by the persons in their employ. 2.

main for us, than to pass through the straits of *Malacca* to *Batavia*, and thereby considerably lengthen the duration of our voyage.

But our fears were fortunately, in this instance, not realised. We passed to the windward of those islands, so as not to see them.

On the 3d of May, we found ourselves in the north latitude of  $7^{\circ}$ , which is that of the southernmost of the *Nicobar Islands*. Having, therefore, got beyond these, we entertained hopes of a speedy prosecution of our voyage round *Sumatra*. The sudden squalls, or whirlwinds, which came upon us almost every day, were our chief hindrance; they often rushed on us so unexpectedly, that we had scarce sufficient time to take in our sails; they were usually succeeded by dead calms, which lasted the remainder of the day; and we were hereby greatly impeded in our progress.

Very unexpectedly, at daybreak, on the 10th of May, being in the north latitude of four degrees and a half, we discovered the island *Sumatra*, not far from the point of *Acheen*.

We had observed some signs of land for a few

few days before, namely, we had seen pieces of wood and bamboo floating on the water; but we flattered ourselves that these came from the *Nicobar Islands*. We now found that the currents, which must have only set to the northeastward, after our passing those islands (for had they driven us before in an easterly direction, we must have run in sight of them), had carried us full thirty-three leagues towards the east.

We were, by computation, four leagues and a half off shore, when we made the land. It appeared to the east like small islands, but more northerly, like connected land, with high mountains inward.

Fortunately, we were fifteen or twenty leagues to windward of the point of *Acheen*; for had we fallen close in with it, or to leeward of it, we should, for certain, have lost the opportunity of passing round *Sumatra*. We yet ran some danger of being driven to leeward, from the continual calms, and the strong currents, which sometimes set to the north, and sometimes to the southeast.

Frequently, when we were driving along, in a dead calm, I had the boat hoisted out, in order to observe the course of the current.

For this purpose, a heavy grapnel was fastened in a large tub, and attached to a coil of rope, that was long enough to let down this apparatus, six or seven hundred fathoms below the surface of the sea ; and as there was no current at that depth, the boat lay, as it were, at anchor, and bore up with its head to the current. In order, in the next place to ascertain the exact direction and degree of rapidity of the current, one of our sweeps was taken, the leaf of which was painted white, a weight was fastened to the other end, so as to make it stand upright in the water, with the white part five or six feet above the surface. To this end, a log-line was attached, in order to see how far the sweep would be driven away from the boat, by the current, in a given time, to be observed by a stop-watch, and towards what point of the compass, having one with us in the boat, for that purpose.

In the space of five minutes, I found that the sweep was driven by the current, in the direction of north by west, to a distance of two hundred and twenty-six Rhineland feet from the boat, which may be estimated to make about three leagues in four-and-twenty hours,

hours. This was the result of our experiment the first day, but in the following days, we found the currents set to the northeast, at the rate of five or six leagues in twenty-four hours.

But not having always an opportunity of hoisting out the boat, I caused a lead of seventy pounds in weight, to be let down by the sounding-line, to the depth of eighty or ninety fathoms, and fastening an empty cask to it, which held up the lead, and was kept stationary by it, the ship drove away from it, by the current; for she had no other motion, on account of the calm. We found by this, that the currents set more to the east, and southeast, every day; and on the 15th of May, we succeeded in getting off from the shore, which we lost sight of that day, at noon.

We now pursued our voyage with less apprehension, yet we made no greater progress than before, by the continual calms, which were only interrupted by sudden whirlwinds, of an hour or two in duration \*.

\* From the frequency of these sudden squalls, in the neighbourhood of *Sumatra*, the Portuguese first, and afterwards the English seamen, have given them the name of the island, and call them *sumatras*. T.

On the 15th of May, the sun rose, during an eclipse, which was then full two-thirds completed. I observed the end of the eclipse, fifty-eight minutes, and thirty seconds after six o'clock : this was to have been at *Chandernagore*, at thirty minutes past six ; thus, the difference of time, between that place, and where we were, was  $28' 30''$ ; or  $7^{\circ} 8'$  longitude, that we were to the eastward of *Chandernagore*, whose longitude we knew was  $105^{\circ} 1'$  east from *Teneriffe*, and our estimation was  $111^{\circ} 95'$ ; hence we found that we were eleven leagues more to the eastward than by the ship's reckoning. The day before we had passed the line to the southward.

On the 29th of that month, we met, and hailed, the East-India Company's ship, *Duinenburg*, Captain JOHN VERHEEK, from the coast of *Mallabar* ; she had left *Cochin* on the 4th, and was equally bound to *Batavia*. We sailed in company, till the 4th of June, when we left her behind, and lost sight of her.

The following days, we saw many signs of land, as rockweed, bamboos, large pieces of wood, and a species of red blubber, or *mollusca*, floating

floating on the water ; likewise several land-birds, and a number of white and yellow tropic birds. Sometimes whole trees floated by the ship, with their branches and roots, yet fresh and uninjured. We concluded, that all this came from the island *Engano* ; for when we stood towards *Sumatra*, we met with hardly any of them.

On the 10th of June, we again saw the island of *Sumatra*, and the high hill of *Sillebar*, which lies near *Bencoolen*, and we found that we were thirty-six leagues more to the westward, than by the ship's reckoning.

The southeasterly winds, now blowing very hard along the west coast, we were obliged to work up against the wind, towards the straits of *Sunda*, and it was not before the 20th of June, that we came abreast of the *Flat Point*, and *Prince's Island* ; and on the 25th we anchored in the bay of *Anjer*, whence we set sail the next day, and arrived in safety, in the road of *Batavia*, on the 2d of July, having had no more than four men dead, during the voyage.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Appointment of the Commodore of the homeward Fleet.—Earthquake at BATAVIA.—Chinese Festivals.—Thunderstorm.—Arrival of the Endeavour, Captain COOK, from the South Seas.—Account of an Otabeitan, brought to BATAVIA by that Ship.—Thanksgiving, Fast, and Prayer Day.—List of the homeward Fleet.—Departure from BATAVIA.—The Reef of ANGUILLAS.—View of the Land of AFRICA.—Anchorage at ROBBEN Island.*

AS soon as I came on shore, I found that my ship had, the same morning, been appointed to return to Europe, as forerunner\* of the fleet, for the chamber of *Enkhuizen*. But going the same evening to give an account of my Bengal voyage, to the governor general *VAN DER PARRA*, his excellency

\* The homeward-bound Dutch East-India Company's ships, are divided at *Batavia*, into two fleets, one of which generally leaves India towards the end of the year, the other some months afterwards; and some days before the departure of each, a single ship sails for Europe, which is called the *voorzeilder*, or forerunner. Except, however, in war-time, these ships seldom sail, or keep together, though they usually rendezvous at the *Cape of Good Hope*. T.

told me, it would be better for me, that I should return to Europe, in a large ship of a hundred and fifty feet, for the chamber of *Amsterdam*, than in a small vessel, like the *Cornetia Hillegonda*, for a chamber of less consequence. On this account, the next day, in the council of India, the command was given to me, of the ship, '*t Huis ter Mye*', being one of a hundred and fifty feet, and which was bound for the chamber of *Amsterdam*. At the same time, the commandant, and upper comptroller of equipment of *Batavia*, ANTHONY VOGELZANG, was appointed commodore of the homeward fleet; but this gentleman dying soon after, Captain FREDERICK KELGER, of the ship *Kroonenburg*, was appointed in his stead \*.

On the 15th of July, I took over the command of the ship, '*t Huis ter Mye*', from Captain HARTZ, and three days afterwards,

\* The command of the fleet is given to the senior captain, unless when a passenger of higher rank, in the Company's service (for all persons in their employ, whether in a civil, a naval, or military station, have their respective ranks), happens to be returning to Europe, and then the passenger, whether he be in a naval, or in a civil capacity, is appointed the commodore, and the ship he goes by, becomes the flag-ship. T.

I gave

I gave up to Captain MARTIN LABAAN, that of the *Cornelia Hillegonda*.

On the 17th of September, at about half past five in the morning, just as the day began to break, the shock of an earthquake was felt at *Batavia*, which lasted full two minutes, but did not do much damage. The water in the canals tossing to and fro with impetuosity, seemed, by its agitation, as if boiling. Whatever was pendent in the houses, like chandeliers and glass lanthorns, was in motion for three quarters of an hour afterwards. All the clocks, both within and without the city, the pendulums of which oscillated east and west, stood still; but those that hung to the north and south, were not affected. A clock which was in the house I was in, stood still at thirty-two minutes past five.

On the 18th and 19th, there was a great festival of the Chinese, instituted as an intercession for their sick. In the evening, one or more bamboos, having several lanthorns hanging at the top, were stuck up before every house, which made a pretty appearance, in the Chinese *campon*, or suburb.

This

This was followed, on the 9th of October, by a grand festival, in honour of their *jooſſje*, or *joss* \*, to whom they offer a number of costly presents; they made likewise a large vessel of paper, and combustible matter, which was highly adorned with flags, and set it on fire in the evening, letting it drive out to sea, where it was very soon consumed. This is only what I have heard related, being myself, at that time, at the island *Onrust*.

In the evening and on the night of the 11th of October, we had a violent thunder-storm, which did no harm in the city, but in the road, the lightning fell, about eight o'clock, upon the ship the *Admiral de Ruiter*. The mainmast, maintopmast, and topgallant-mast, together with their yards and sails, and the foretopsail, and yards, were shivered all to pieces, and the wreck of them

\* The images which the Chinese worship, are called *jooſſje* by the Dutch, and *joss* by the English seamen. The latter is evidently a corruption of the former, which being a Dutch nickname for the devil, was probably given to these idols by the Dutch who first saw them, either from their hideous appearance, or from the principle that all idolatry is demonolatry. On no better ground than this, the authors of the Universal History, accuse the Chinese of worshipping the devil, knowingly and *de facto*. T.

lay upon the quarter-deck, to the height of fifteen feet \*. A longitudinal fissure was likewise made in the quarter-deck, but no foul on board was hurt, nor was there any damage done to any of the other vessels in the road.

A few days before this event, the English ship, the *Endeavour*, commanded by Captain Cook, had arrived in the road of *Batavia*. This vessel came from the Pacific Ocean, and had been twenty-seven months from England, having thus far circumnavigated the globe, from the east. They had with them an Indian, whom they said was a native of a country which they had discovered in the

\* Captain Cook, who was then at *Batavia*, in the *Endeavour* bark, as noticed in the next paragraph, relates this incident, exactly as above, and adds, "she had an iron spindle "at the main-top-gallant-mast-head, which probably directed "the stroke. This ship lay not more than the distance of "two cables' length from our's, and in all probability we "should have shared the same fate, but for the electrical "chain, which we had just got up, and which conducted "the lightning over the side of the ship; but though we "escaped the lightning, the explosion shook us like an earth- "quake, the chain at the same time appearing like a line of "fire: a sentinel was in the action of charging his piece, and "the shock forced the musquet out of his hand, and broke "the rammer-rod." Hawkesworth's Voyages, Vol. IV. page 341, octavo edition. T.

South Sea, but they would not reveal where it was situated. This Indian was of a middling size, rather fat than otherwise, of a dark brown colour, and with long and thick hair, which hung half way down his back ; it was loose, and of a jetty black ; it grew low down upon his forehead. His beard was likewise black, of a middling length, and uncut, contrary to the custom of most Orientals ; the nails of his hands were long ; his countenance seemed sorrowful, and his disposition timorous. His dress consisted of a large piece of white cloth, which was thrown over the shoulders, and which appeared to me to be made of the bark of trees. The English gentlemen, with whom he came, and who had likewise a Swedish naturalist, Dr. SOLANDER, with them, said that they understood his language ; but when they conversed with him, it seemed to me that it was mostly done by signs. He would not eat of any thing that was set before him ; and continually cast his eyes on all fides around him, expressing the greatest astonishment at what he saw and heard \*. We understood

\* TUPIA, the Otaheitan here alluded to, who accompanied Captain Cook, as far as Batavia, died there, the following

derstood from the English, that they had stayed eight months at that island, which they called *Otahite*, and that all the natives resembled the one they had brought away.

A thanksgiving, fast, and prayer day, was held at *Batavia*, on the 17th of October. This solemnity takes place every year just before the departure of the return-fleet, for Holland, being partly instituted in order to supplicate heaven to grant them a prosperous voyage. A sermon is preached on that day, on board of the flag-ship, in the road, at which all the commanders of the vessels there, with part of their crews, are present.

On the 24th, the governor general went, with a great retinue, on board of the ship *Kroonenburg*, in order to instal the commodore of the homeward fleet, FREDERICK KELGER. For this purpose, all the ships

ing month. The reader of Lieut. COOK's voyage, who will have strongly interested himself for this amiable Indian, will scarcely recognize him in the picture here drawn of him; but the rapid progress of a bilious distemper, which poor TUPIA laboured under, during the latter part of the voyage, and the approaches of death in a strange land, are not adapted to give, either an expression of pleasure to the countenance, or of fortitude to the mind. T.

which

which lay in the road, were ranged in two lines, with the old admirals-ship next to the river, and that of the commodore, the outermost. This was done in order that the governor general, passing between the lines, might have an opportunity of taking a view of every ship, at his ease. His excellency came in a great barge, which was richly gilt, and had a pavilion, with glass windows at the poop. The chief of the marine, and some other gentlemen, were with him. The upper comptroller of equipment stood before the pavilion, and commanded the rowers. As soon as his excellency came on board of the ship *Kronenburg*, a broad pendant was hoisted above the ensign, at the maintop, while the old admirals-ship struck her flag, and fired a salute of twenty-one guns. Eight captains stood upon the ship's ladder, as his excellency ascended, and all the others who belonged to the homeward fleet, were on the quarter-deck, together with the vice-commodore, to receive him. Under the awning, a breakfast was got ready for the governor general, and after he had taken some refreshment, the commodore's commission was read by the

secretary of the governor, and his excellency then commanded the captains of the fleet, to obey the commodore, on their voyage to Europe. About half an hour afterwards, the governor general returned on shore. Upon his leaving the ship *Kroonenburg*, he was saluted with twenty-one guns, the broad pendant and ensign were both struck, and the commodore's flag hoisted in their stead.

The ships that composed the first division of the homeward fleet, were as follows :

for the Chamber of *Amsterdam* :

the *Kroonenburg*, Com. FREDERICK KELGER:

the *Nieuw Rboon*, Capt. JOHN HENDRICKS:

the *Young Lieven*, ... HENRY DE HART:

the *Huis ter Mye*, ... J. SPLINTER STAVORINUS:

the *Woeſduin*, ... MICH. GODFREY LEHMAN:

for *Zealand* :

the *Duinenburg*, Capt. JOHN VERMEEKE:

the *Young Samuel*, Capt. PETER ANGLEVORST:

for *Delft* :

the *Lady Antonetta Conradiina*:

for *Rotterdam* :

the *Flushing*, Capt. JACOB 'T HART:

for *Horn* :

the *Ridderkerk*, Capt. PETER VAN PROYEN:

and for *Enkhuizen* :

the *Cornelia Hillegonda*, Capt. MARTIN LABAAN.

The

The lastmentioned had sailed for Holland, on the 20th of October, as forerunner of the fleet, and the two first followed on the 25th; while the others had to stop, for a ship which was daily expected from the coast of *Coromandel*, in order to take over the bales of piece-goods she was to bring, and then to receive the complement of their cargoes in pepper. This vessel reached the road of *Batavia* three days afterwards, and the re-shipment of the goods she brought, took place immediately; after which, the ships sailed to the island *Onrust*, to take in pepper.

On the 3d of November, the water-bailiff came on board, to muster the crew, which was found to consist of one hundred and eight seamen, eight soldiers, four mechanics, four passengers, and one man, who was sent back to Europe, being unfit for the Company's service.

On the 5th of November, we got the last of our pepper on board, and, together with the commanders of the ships, the *Young Lieven*, the *Young Samuel*, and the *Lady Antonetta Conradina*, having received our final

dispatches from the governor general, we left the island *Onrust*, on the same day, and anchored the next afternoon, at three o'clock, in the bay of *Anjer*. The *Young Lieven*, and my ship, having still some water to receive on board, remained here at anchor till the 9th, when we sailed in the morning, and at night we cleared the straits of *Sunda*, and got out to sea. The two other ships had sailed the day before.

On the 10th, at noon, we took our last observation of *Prince's Island*, and in the afternoon, we lost sight of *Java*, and steered first s.w. till in the south latitude of  $9^{\circ}$ , where we were sure of meeting with the settled southeasterly tradewind, and thence we directed our course w.s.w.

As soon as we were out at sea, we found that our ship was very leaky. We made eighteen inches water every watch, so that we were obliged to keep the pumps continually at work. However narrowly we searched, we could not find where the leak was, till about a month afterwards; when we accidentally discovered that there was a hole in the bow, on the larboard side, two feet

feet under water. The carpenter contrived, with much difficulty, to ram in a wooden plug on the outside ; for we could not get at it within the ship. This reduced the inroad of the water by one-half ; but the leak was by no means stopped, and our pumps were frequently choaked by the pepper, and we were forced to lift them out, to clear them again.

The day after we were out at sea, we lost sight of the *Young Lieven*, which ship outsailed us by full one-third, although Captain HART and I had agreed to keep in company.

On the 17th, at five o'clock, P.M. we saw a solar eclipse, but we could take no observation of its beginning, for the sun was, at that time, obscured by clouds ; neither could we observe the end, for the sun set at six o'clock, before the eclipse was over.

We proceeded pleasantly on our voyage, with the southeast tradewind, which carried us quickly on, and passing the tropic of capricorn to the south, on the 28th of November, we computed on the 7th of December, that we were abreast of the island

*Madagascar.* We perceived also, several signs of land, and saw much red blubber floating on the water. Hence we steered west by south, to the latitude of  $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and thence due west, towards the reef of *Anguillas*.

The southeast tradewind began to shift in the south latitude of  $26^{\circ}$ , and we met with variable winds, which were, however, very favourable. The compasses shewed the greatest variation of  $25^{\circ}$  and  $26^{\circ}$  N.W. between  $62^{\circ}$  and  $50^{\circ}$  east longitude; and farther to the west, the variation began gradually to decrease.

On the 21st of December, we observed a change in the colour of the water, from a clear blue, to dark green, and a high sea rolled in from the s.w. These were indications that we were near the reef of *Anguillas*; and at sunset, we sounded in seventy fathoms, grey sand with shells.

This reef stretches out from the continent, as far as  $36^{\circ}$  south latitude, and perhaps farther, but the soundings are, in some places, thereabouts, two hundred fathoms. By the depth, and the nature of the bottom upon the reef, you may know whether you are

are to the eastward, or to the westward of Cape *Anguillas*. To the eastward, the ground is hard, and to the westward, soft, loose mud, with a much greater depth; so that having passed the cape to the west, you get out of soundings by degrees.

The heavy seas, that are occasioned by the storms, which are so frequently met with, on the reef, make it a very dangerous part of the navigation, and the Company have lost, in consequence, many ships; especially of the second division, or those that come upon the reef in the months of April and May, at which time the weather is the most stormy. Ships going to the *Cape of Good Hope* cannot avoid passing over the reef, in order to be certain of their longitude, and not to overshoot the cape. On account, however, of the danger attending it, orders were given by the Company, in the years 1767 and 1768, for their ships, which passed here in that time of the year, to haul in upon the outside of the reef, in order to ascertain their situation, and rectify their estimation; but on meeting with soundings, then to stand directly south, in order to run round the reef, without touch-

ing at the *Cape of Good Hope*; but instead of that, to touch at *St. Helena*, for refreshment. This mode, however, proved to be attended with worse consequences; and all their ships are accordingly again allowed to touch at the *Cape of Good Hope*, except the last ship, which refreshes at *St. Helena*.

On the 23d of December, we had, at noon, a glimpse of the land of *Africa*, but soon lost sight of it, nor could we, on account of the haziness of the weather, distinguish what part of it we had seen.

On the 25th, we saw it again, with a clear sky, in  $34^{\circ} 57'$  south latitude. The land appeared with a deep inlet, or bay, the west point of which sloped down into the sea; and behind it we saw high rugged mountains, situated far inland. The beach was very low and sandy. To the north, were some irregular white eminences, resembling chalkhills; and a little more to the eastward, we saw a hill, forming a regular arch. We could see land to the westward, from the masthead, appearing like two round hummocks. We saw a thick smoke rising inland; hence we concluded, that we were before *Vleesch*, or *Flesh Bay*.

In the night, and part of the following day, we had a storm from the westward, with a high sea, which strained the ship very much. This westerly wind continued till the 28th, when it came round to the s.e. and the next day we ran in sight of Cape *des Anguillas*, and the steep headland of *Rio Dolce*. This last is very remarkable, and shews like *Portland Point* in the British Channel.

Rectifying our estimation here, we found that since our last observation, at *Prince's Island*, we were  $3^{\circ} 9'$ , or 39 leagues, more to the westward, than by the ship's reckoning. At the same time we saw a large ship to the northward, which we lost sight of in the evening ; we afterwards found that she was the *Young Lieven*, who had left the straits of *Sunda*, in company with us.

The next day, being the 30th of December, we found ourselves, at sunrise, abreast of *False Bay*, and steered our course for *Table Bay*. At noon we were in sight of the *Lion's Mountain*, for which we steered ; and afterwards for *Sandhill Point* ; before, however, we got so far, we were becalmed under the *Lion's-head*, and we could not steer the ship, while it blew a storm from the southeast,

southeast, a quarter of a league from us. After having been becalmed about half an hour, we got a breeze, which soon carried us off shore; but reaching *Sandhill Point*, it increased to such a stiff gale, and was accompanied with such violent squalls, falling down from the mountains, that we found it impossible to work into the road; and we accordingly resolved to run for *Robben*, or *Seal Island*, and anchor under it. We cast anchor in the road of this island, in fifteen fathoms, sandy bottom, and found lying here the ship *Young Lieven*, which had reached the anchorage three hours before us.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Anchorage in TABLE BAY.—Departure from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—View of ST. HELENA.—Of ASCENSION Island.—The Grass-sea.—Animalculæ found in the floating Seaweed.—Council held by the Commodore.—Passage to the West of the AZORES.—Narrative of a Woman, who had enlisted as a Soldier.—Meeting with the cruising Frigates off LIZARD Point.—Arrival at the TEXEL.*

ON the following day, in the morning, the Company's officer, stationed on the island, came on board, and brought refreshments for the crew, consisting of twelve sheep and some vegetables. This is the allowance delivered to every Company's ship, that anchors at the island.

On the 1st of January 1771, the wind veering, in the morning, to the N.W. we weighed anchor, together with the *Young Lieven*, and steered for the road; but when we were about a quarter of a league from the anchoring-ground, the southeast wind burst upon us, over the mountains, so that we were obliged to come to an anchor, in the

the outer road, under the *Lion's-tail*; and as the wind continued to blow in violent squalls, we could not reach the inner road before the 3d, on which day we cast anchor there, at ten o'clock, A.M. and we immediately moored our ship, stem and stern, saluting the commodore of the homeward fleet, with eleven guns, which was returned us with the same number.

We found seven ships of the homeward fleet, lying at anchor here, viz. the *Kroonenburg*, the *Nieuw Rhoon*, the *Lady Antonetta Conradina*, the *Cornelia Hillegonda*, the *Young Samuel*, the *Young Lieven*, and the *Ridderkerk*.

The *Woeſtduin* arrived on the 7th, the *Flushing*, on the 13th, and the *Duinenburg*, on the 31st. This last had, some time before, anchored under *Robben Island*, but her cable breaking, in a gale of wind, she had been driven out to sea.

After a stay of full five weeks, during which the crews partook of the usual refreshments of the place, six of the ships belonging to the homeward fleet, one of which was the commodore's, received orders to sail for Holland. These were, the *Kroonenburg*,

*Kroonenburg*, the *Huis ter Mye*, the *Young Samuel*, the *Lady Antonetta Conradina*, the *Flushing*, and the *Ridderkerk*; the *Cornelia Hillegonda*, had sailed on the 10th of January, as forerunner.

On the 7th of February, we received our final dispatches from the governor of the *Cape of Good Hope*, together with orders, to keep in company with the commodore. We, however, lay still, till the 9th, as the violence of the southeast wind prevented any of the ships from weighing till then. On that day we all set sail, and about noon we got out of the bay, and each of the ships saluting the commodore with eleven guns, we steered to the W.N.W.

At sunset, we took our last observation of the land of *Africa*, the *Table Mountain*, bearing S.E. ten leagues off.

The next day, at noon, we changed our course to N.W. by signal from the commodore, and steered for the latitude of the island of *St. Helena*.

Our ship was now perfectly tight. The leak, which we had discovered at sea, had been repaired at the Cape. We found under the sheathing, a seam in the ship's side, that was

was entirely open, so that it was a great happiness that the sheathing was but little damaged; for, if this had been wholly gone, where the seam lay that was open, we should have had much difficulty to keep the ship above water. We did not perceive the least leakiness, during the remainder of the voyage, and were not once obliged to pump, from the Cape to the Channel.

The favourable wind, with which we had left the road of the Cape, soon brought us into the southeast tradewind; with which we ran in sight of the island *St. Helena*, on the 26th of February.

This island, which lies in the south latitude of  $16^{\circ}$ , and full  $13^{\circ}$  east longitude from the meridian of *Teneriffe*, is high, and mountainous, and has a barren appearance, in passing by. The English have taken possession of it, and established it, for a place of refreshment, for their East-Indiamen. Our ships, likewise, in case of necessity, sometimes touch there.

Losing sight of *St. Helena*, the following morning, we continued to steer N.W. and on the 5th of March, we made the island *Ascension*, and sailed close under it.

'The

The latitude of this island is about  $8^{\circ}$  south, and its longitude  $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ : it is also high and mountainous, yet not so much so as *St. Helena*; it is, likewise, smaller in circumference. It is uninhabited, and perfectly sterile, being almost nothing but a bare rock. It, however, affords fresh water, though the watering-place is difficult of access. The beach abounds in turtles, who lay their eggs in the sand, in order to be hatched by the heat of the sun. The Danes frequently visit this island, for the sake of procuring a supply of turtle.

We saw, as we sailed by, heavy breakers foaming on its east side, to a considerable distance from the island.

On the 13th of March, we passed the equator, in the longitude of  $356^{\circ}$ . The southeast tradewind failed us in the third degree of north latitude, and ran round to the northeast, with which we pursued our voyage, sailing close-hauled by the wind.

As our ship was the slowest sailer of the fleet, we were obliged to carry a press of sail, in order to keep up with the others, whereby we split our maintopmast.

On the 31st of March, I lost my second lieutenant,

Lieutenant, HENRY VERBURG, who had been unfit for duty, by sickness, from the beginning of December.

On the 2d of April, in the north latitude of  $22^{\circ}$ , we saw, for the first time, the seaweed, called gulph-weed\*. This seaweed consists of small green bunches, large fields of which are sometimes seen floating on the water; they are mostly disposed in long bands, separated from each other by narrow intervals, and lying longitudinally in the direction of the winds, which generally blow here, between N.N.E. and E.N.E. It is as yet unknown, whether this weed grows upon the surface of the sea, or whether it is produced at the bottom, and afterwards rises to the superficies†. It is worthy of observation, that it is not found, in such large quantities, in any other part of the ocean; whence, and from its verdant appearance, the sea hereabouts is called the grass-sea, by the seamen. The depth is here, as elsewhere in the main

\* *Fucus natans*.

† Dr. THUNBERG, the latest scientific voyager, who says any thing concerning this marine production, is of opinion, that it grows as it floats in the water, and shoots forth new shoots at the extremities, which grow larger by degrees. Thunberg's Travels, vol. iv. p. 276. T.

ocean, unfathomable. It is between the latitudes of  $21^{\circ}$  and  $34^{\circ}$  north, that this seaweed is mostly met with, decreasing thence daily, in quantity, to  $38^{\circ}$  or  $39^{\circ}$ , where it wholly disappears. Neither is any of it seen to the eastward of the *Cape Verde* or *Canary Islands*, so that it must be produced, or collected, far to the westward of these islands. A great number of marine animalculæ, infinitely various in shape, are harboured in this seagrafs: some of them are as large as the joint of a finger. They are familiarly called seacows, sealions, &c. in allusion to such known land-animals as they resemble the nearest in shape \*. Their substance is a thick slime, so that they cannot be preserved, either in spirits, or in any other way.

On the 3d of April, we passed the tropic of cancer, and on the following day, the commodore made the signal for all the captains of the fleet to come on board.

As soon as we were assembled, which was

\* Dr. THUNBERG enumerates, among the animals which he met with in this seaweed, the *scyllaea pelagica*, the *cancer minutus*, and the *lobpius bifilio*; and Captain SIEDMAN particularizes the *hippocampus*, or seahorse, which he aptly compares to the chevalier or knight of a chessboard. T.

at eight o'clock in the morning, we were formed into a council, in which the secret papers and orders committed to the commodore, at the *Cape of Good Hope*, with directions not to open them, till the fleet was in the present latitude, were read. They contained, a designation of the place, where we were to look out for the ships of war, which were cruising to meet us, being the *Lizard Point* in the Channel, and the private signals of recognizance of them.

After this, we sat in judgment on the crime of one of the crew of the *Lady Antonetta Conradina*, who, being found guilty of mutiny, was sentenced to be ducked three times from the mainyard, to be severely flogged before the mast, and afterwards removed to the ship *Flushing*; which sentence was immediately put in execution.

Having thus concluded our business, we spent the remainder of the day in merriment; and at sunset we returned on board of our own ships, saluting the commodore with eleven guns from each.

Our north latitude, at noon, that day, was  $24^{\circ} 49'$ , and our longitude, by the average computation of all the ships,  $338^{\circ} 49'$ .

The

The northeast tradewind left us the following day, and was succeeded, first by calms, and afterwards by westerly and variable winds. These were sometimes pretty high, and occasioned so great a swell of the sea, that it at times broke over us. On the 18th and 19th of April especially, we had a high wind and sea, with which we ran past the islands *Corvo* and *Flores*, which are the most westerly of the *Azores*, leaving them, however, out of sight, on our right.

Hitherto, nothing of material consequence had happened on board of my ship, during the time we had been at sea, which is rather a singular circumstance in such voyages ; but on the 2d of May, we met with an unexpected occurrence, which had no relation to the ship's affairs.

A woman, one MARGARET REYMERES, had disguised herself in men's clothes, in the beginning of the last year, and had enlisted as a soldier on board of the ship *Schoonzicht* ; she had long kept her sex concealed, but being at last discovered, she was put on shore at the *Cape of Good Hope*, and kept there, in order to be sent back to Holland, by the homeward fleet. The governor of

the Cape made choice of my ship for that purpose, as there was a lady on board, who had taken her passage with me from *Batavia* for *Holland*; and whom this woman was to serve, as a maid, during the voyage. The mistress had hitherto observed nothing amiss in her servant, nor the least signs of pregnancy, till the moment that she heard the crying of a child, the maid being then, as she thought, lying asleep on a chest in her room. The surgeon being called, we found that the woman had been delivered of a female child; and the mother told him that the father of it, was a surgeon's mate at the *Cape of Good Hope*. Some days afterwards, I had the curiosity to ask her, what had induced her to go to India as a soldier; she answered, that she was a farmer's daughter, in the duchy of *Oldenburg*, and had left her native country, on account of ill treatment; that coming to *Hamburg*, she there met with a Dutch recruiting officer, who advised her to put on male attire, saying, that if she would go to India, which he would assist her to do, she would make her fortune; he, accordingly, conveyed her to *Rotterdam*, whence she had been put on board of the

the *Schoonzicht*; she had remained unnoticed for two months on board, but at last the first lieutenant discovered her. At the Cape, she had been weak enough, she said, to listen to the professions of the surgeon's mate, who had seduced her, and who, after repeated promises of marriage, having got her with child, had abandoned her. She was in the fifth month of her pregnancy, when she came on board, and had hoped that the ship would have reached its destination before the time of her delivery. She was between twenty-three and twenty-four years of age, tall, and of a large and coarse make, by which she could easily pass for a man, in her soldiers' uniform.

Three days after this event, we came into soundings, in the chops of the Channel, ninety fathom; but the violent easterly winds prevented us from making the *Scilly* islands till the 11th of May, when we got sight of them, at noon.

At four o'clock, P.M. two Texel pilots came on board of us, and others on board of the other ships of the squadron, bound to the *Texel*.

The next day, at seven o'clock, A.M. we

saw the two ships of war, that were cruising for us, off *Lizard Point*; and our commodore stood towards them. About nine o'clock, he made the private signal of recognition, which was answered by one of the frigates.

When we were within about half a league of them, our commodore saluted with thirteen guns, and struck his flag, but which, as soon as the frigate had returned his salute, he hoisted again. This occasioned much misunderstanding between the commodore of the homeward fleet, who insisted upon continuing to bear his commodore's flag, and Captain VAN BRAAM, commander of the two frigates, who would not suffer this, and would only allow the commodore to carry an ensign at the maintop. To this he was at last obliged to submit, after we had been detained for five or six hours during a favourable gale, by the boats going backwards and forwards, in order to bring the commodore to reason, and to settle this punctilio,

By our observation at the *Lizard Point*, we found, that since our last observation, off the island *Ascension*, on the 5th of March, we were  $4^{\circ} 32'$ , or 45 leagues, more to the westward, than by computation.

At sunset, we made sail, in company with both the frigates, steering for the *Start Point*.

The next morning, the commander made a signal for all captains of ships to come on board, when I found that this was our States' frigate the *Thetis*, under the command of Captain WILLIAM VAN BRAAM, and the other, the *Triton*, Captain RADERS, which last was to convoy us farther, to the ports to which we were bound.

Being returned on board of our own ships, Captain VAN BRAAM, made the signal to separate, and returned to his cruising station off the *Lizard Point*, returning, when he left us, with eleven guns, the salute of thirteen, given by the commodore of the homeward fleet.

While we were lying by, all the ships of the fleet were examined by two officers of the *Thetis*.

We met with easterly winds and calms in our passage up the Channel, so that it was only on the 22d of May, that we passed the Straits of *Dover*, and entered the North Sea.

On the following day, the *Young Samuel*,

the *Flushing*, and the *Lady Antonetta Conradina*, separated from us, the first for Zealand, and the two last for Goeree\*.

At nine o'clock, A.M. on the 24th of May, we discovered the coast of Holland, and at ten, we saw the steeple of Egmond. Shortly afterwards the frigate made the signal for pushing on. We saluted with eleven guns, and were answered with five. We then worked up for the Texel roads, and at five o'clock, P.M. we came to anchor, in the south gut, saluting the road with eleven guns; and on the 26th of May, the crew were discharged by the director BEAUMONT.

\* An island at the entrance of the *Maeſte*. T.

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BOOK II.

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OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE ISLAND  
OF JAVA.

## CHAPTER I.

*Situation of JAVA.—Straits of SUNDA.—PRINCE'S Island.—DWARS IN DEN WEG.—Bay of ANJER.—Claim of the Dutch East-India Company to the Sovereignty of the Straits of SUNDA.—Bay of BANTAM.—Road of BATAVIA.—Kingdom of BANTAM.—Tributary to the Company.—Speech made on the Appointment of a Successor to the Throne.—Empire of JACCATRA.—Of CHERIBON.—Of the SOESOEHOENAM, or Emperor of JAVA.—Of the Sultan.—Principality of MADURA.—Political Conduct of the Company towards the native Princes.*

THE island of *Java*, which is one of the largest of those constituting the great Oriental Archipelago, is situated between  $6^{\circ}$  and  $9^{\circ}$  south latitude, and extends from  $120^{\circ}$  to  $131^{\circ}$  east longitude from *Teneriffe*,  
being

being one hundred and sixty-five Dutch miles in length. It lies nearly in the direction of east and west. To the south; and to the west, its shores are washed by the southern Indian Ocean ; to the northwest of it, lies the island of *Sumatra* ; to the north, *Borneo* ; to the northeast, *Celebes* ; and to the east that of *Bali*: from which last it is separated by a narrow passage, called the Straits of *Bali*. The arm of the sea which runs between *Java* and *Sumatra*, is known by the appellation of the Straits of *Sunda*. The length of this channel, is, on the *Sumatra* side, taken from the *Flat Point*, to *Varkens*, or *Hog Point*, fifteen German miles ; and, on the *Java* side, from the first point, or *Java Head*, to the point of *Bantam*, full twenty. In the mouth of the strait, lies *Prince's Island*, about a league and a half from the coast of *Java*, and full six leagues from that of *Sumatra*.

*Prince's Island*, is low, and only about four leagues in circumference. It has, however, two hills, one at its east end, and the other a little more to the south, which make it visible at a moderate distance, especially the hill, which lies at the east end, and which is

is accordingly called the high hill, by navigators \*.

There is a stone reef at its s.w. side, which, according to the charts, extends a league and a half out to sea, and is dangerous for the ships which pass through the passage between this island and Java. Prince's Island is covered with trees, and affords an agreeable prospect to the passing seamen: it is inhabited by Jayanese, who subsist by fishing.

By the situation of this island, at the entrance of the straits of Sunda, are formed two passages; the one, running between Prince's Island and Java, has been called the *Behouden, or Secured Passage*, and is made use of, for the most part, by those ships which have to pass the straits, during the southeast monsoon, in order, that, sailing close in with the shore of Java, they may soon get within anchoring-depth, and not be in danger of being driven out to sea again, by the currents, which at that time of the

\* The English call it the Pike: in Lieut. Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour*, there is a more ample account of this island. T.

year, set strongly out of the straits, to the westward.

The other passage, which is called by seamen, *het Groote Gat*, or the *Great Channel*, sometimes serves also as an entrance to the straits, during the southeast monsoon; but it is with the greatest difficulty, and after a continued struggling with the southeasterly winds, and the currents, that this can be effected; and it is not an unfrequent circumstance that five or six weeks are spent, in working up a distance, which, in the west monsoon, is often sailed over, in twice as many hours.

The East-India Company's ship, *Luxemburg*, Captain ROEM, affords an instance hereof: she sailed on the 2d of June, 1768, from the bay of *Punto Gallo*, and came in sight of the *Flat Point* of *Sumatra*, at the entrance of the straits, on the 24th of July, but could not get upon the anchoring-ground, under the shore of *Java*, till the 21st of November. It was, however, remarkable, that the ship *Torenvliet*, which sailed in company with the *Luxemburg*, from *Punto Gallo*, reached *Batavia*, full three months before her; and hence appears how much

much sometimes one ship is either a better sailer, or has better fortune than another, though seamanship and knowledge be upon an equal footing.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of entering the straits on this side, when these contrary winds and currents are in force, yet almost all the ships which fall to leeward, upon the west coast of *Sumatra*, as well as those which come from *Surat*, *Malabar*, *Ceylon*, *Coromandel*, *Bengal*, or other places in the west of India, are obliged to pass through this channel, as it is scarcely possible for them to reach the windward shore of *Java*, in the teeth of the southeast monsoon, and they therefore cannot avail of the other passage. That this, however, is not wholly impracticable, appeared by the ships, the *Young Lieven*, and the *Asia*, who in the month of June, 1770, effected it ; yet such cases are extremely rare.

The entrance of the straits, on this side, affords an uncommonly pleasing prospect, near the Sumatran shore. First, the *Flat Point*, which is low, and covered with trees, and behind it the majestic mountains of *Sumatra*, rising with a gradual ascent, and reaching

reaching to the clouds; a little more forward, the *Keizers*, or *Emperor's Island*, lifts its high and spiry summit ; farther on, the islands *Kraketau*, *Slybzee*, and *Pulo Bicie*, or the *Iron Island*, shew their mountains covered with ever-verdant woods. The opposite coast of *Java* is not inferior to this, and improves continually in appearance, as you pass along it, affording at the same time good anchorage, which is not to be met with on the *Sumatra* side. The numerous groves of cocoanut-palms, and the rice-fields in the background, give the most pleasing ideas of the fertility of the soil.

Twelve or thirteen leagues from *Prince's Island*, in the narrowest part of the strait, and opposite to *Varkens*; or *Hog Point* of *Sumatra*, lies an island, that, on account of its situation, exactly in the middle of the channel, has, with great propriety, obtained the name of *Dwars in den Weg*, *Thwart the Way*, or *Middle Isle*. It is low, and of little extent, with some small reefs, which stretch out from it here and there. Like all the islands in these seas, it is covered with wood, and, as far as I know, it is uninhabited.

A Strong

A strong current runs through the passages on either side of this island, during the whole year, setting, with the prevailing easterly or westerly winds, either to the northeast or to the southwest, although it sometimes happens, that the current runs contrary to the direction of the wind, for a short time. Between *Dwars in den Weg* and the coast of *Java*, and farther on to the point of *Bantam*, there appears to be a settled current, independent of the wind; at least I found, when, in the month of June, coming from *Bengal*, with the ship *Cornelia Hillegonda*, I lay at anchor, for a day and a half, in the bay of *Anjer*, over against *Dwars in den Weg*, that the current changed its course to a contrary direction, twice in four-and-twenty hours; that, however, which flowed towards the straits, was full as strong again, as that which set the opposite way: the s.e. monsoon was then at its height. I experienced the same thing in the month of November of the same year, with the ship *Huis ter Mye*, though it was then in the latter end of the monsoon.

Ships passing out through the straits of  
Sunda,

*Sunda*, often anchor in the bay of *Anjer*, in order to take in their last supply of fresh water, from a rivulet which runs from the mountains into the sea, at this place, close to a little grove of cocoanut-trees. There is likewise a Javanese village, which is under the jurisdiction of the king of *Bantam*, and which has erroneously been reckoned, by some travellers, among the large cities of *Java*, though it has nothing that can be construed into a town.

Not far from this place, there is an islet or rock, entirely overgrown with brushwood, which is called the *Brabandsch-hoedje*; and a little farther to the north, a similar one, called the *Toppers-hoedje*\*; this last is steep and bold, having fifty fathom depth close to it.

The Dutch East-India Company claim an absolute sovereignty over the Straits of *Sunda*, and this is acknowledged by all the other powers. The Company require the salute, and have the right of interdicting this passage to all other nations, though they

\* These small islands are called the *Cap* and *Button*, by the English navigators. T.

do

do not put their right in force \*. This right is maintained as proceeding from the circumstance, that the land on both sides of the straits is tributary to the Company ; viz. the kingdom of *Bantam* on the *Java* shore, and on the other side the land of *Lampon*, with that which lies farther westward, being conquered provinces belonging to *Bantam*. There is a resolution, on this subject, of the council of India, and articles are included in the secret orders, which are given to the Company's ships, bound to the west of India, respecting the salute to be required of the ships of other nations ; which order is not to be opened, unless they chance to meet with such.

From *Anjer* to the point of *Bantam*, the country appears, in general, with high mountains inland, and a foreland more level. From this point, which is the northernmost extremity of *Java*, the land declines to the southeast, and makes a deep bay ; and in

\* This claim has never been openly made by the Dutch, except indeed their putting sundry questions to all strange ships who pass the straits, as circumstantially related in Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour*, may be construed into such a claim ; and it would probably not be allowed, by the other nations who trade to India, if insisted upon. T.

the farthest part of the bight is situate the city of *Bantam*, of which I have already made some mention, and shall say more respecting it hereafter.

From the point of *Pontang*, which forms the eastern extremity of the bay of *Bantam*, as that which we have just mentioned does the western, the land is every where very low ; yet there are high mountains inland, among which the Blue mountain towers above the rest. Although this mountain lies at a great distance, towards the south side of the island, and southeast from *Batavia*, yet it is seen before *Bantam*. It was formerly, as is related, a volcano ; but nothing of this kind is at present perceptible.

The navigation from this place to the road of *Batavia*, affords the most agreeable prospects, by the numerous small islands, covered with perpetual verdure, which are strewed, at it were, along the sea. The anchoring-ground is every where very good, but there are many rocks, which are from ten to eighteen feet under water, and which sometimes occasion much damage to the vessels that do not carefully avoid them. The government of *Batavia*, however, have caused

caused buoys to be placed upon them, moored by heavy anchors; and upon some of them beacons are erected; but when these are washed away by the currents, the navigator must avoid the rocks, by taking the bearings of the several islands.

The road of *Batavia* is justly esteemed one of the best in the world, as well with regard to the anchoring-ground, which consists of a soft clay, as with regard to the safety it affords to the ships which anchor in it, and to the number which it can contain. Although the road is open from the N.W. to E.N.E. and east, yet ships lie as secure and quiet as if they were landlocked, on account of the numerous islands which lie on that side, and break the force of the waves. Ships, therefore, are never obliged to moor stem and stern here; and the current which runs within the islands is not strong, but without them it is very violent.

In the road, nearest to the town, lies a guardship, commonly called the admiralship, with an ensign at the top, from which, both in the day and in the night, such signals are made to the other ships in the road, as the commanding officer shall think need-

ful. For several years past, it has been regulated, that one of the captains of the ships in the road, should keep guard on board this ship, in order that, in case of accident, by fire or otherwise, there may be always somebody at hand, to give the necessary directions, as the other captains of the vessels generally pass the night in the city. On such occasions, a signal is made from the admiral-ship, to give information, in order that the necessary assistance be immediately sent from the shore.

Before I say any thing of *Batavia*, it will not be improper to relate how far the power of the East-India Company extends over the whole island of *Java*. This is divided into four empires, or kingdoms, which are, either wholly or in part, subject to the dominion of the Company.

The first, to begin from the west, is the kingdom of *Bantam*; this is governed by its own kings, with full power of life and death over their subjects; yet they are tributary to the Company, paying a yearly acknowledgment of a hundred *bbars* of pepper, or 37,500 pounds weight. Beside which, there is a strict engagement entered into

into by the king, not to sell any pepper, or any thing else of the produce of his country, to other nations. It must all be delivered to the Company, for a certain stipulated price. And this does not solely regard the pepper, produced in his dominions in *Java*, but likewise all that is grown in his other territories, his conquered provinces, situated in the great island of *Borneo*, and in *Sumatra*, which likewise yield much pepper ; and the Company have accordingly residencies established, in the first, at *Banjermassing*, and in the last, at *Lampon Toulabourwa*, which serve, in the same way as Fort *Speelwyk* does at *Bantam*, to enforce the fulfilment of the treaties, and to prevent a contraband trade.

The king of *Bantam* is also deprived of the power of appointing his own successor, and the Company nominate one of the royal family to succeed him, as latterly took place in the year 1767.

The speech made, on that occasion, by Mr. OSSENBERG, ordinary counsellor of India, who was deputed thither from *Batavia*, to represent the united Dutch East-India Company, as lord paramount, appeared to me,

from its peculiarity, well worthy of being literally inserted in this place, as translated out of the Malay, which was the language in which it was delivered, as follows :

“ His excellency the governor general,  
 “ and the honourable the council of India,  
 “ having thought fit and resolved, to appoint  
 “ me, as their commissary plenipotentiary  
 “ to the court of *Bantam*, in order, at the  
 “ request of the king, to propose and ap-  
 “ point, his majesty’s eldest son *Pangorang*  
 “ (prince) *GUSTI*, as hereditary prince, and  
 “ successor to the empire of *Bantam*; and,  
 “ this desirable period being now arrived,  
 “ in consequence, I, the commissary afore-  
 “ said, in the name and behalf of the ge-  
 “ neral East-India Company of the Nether-  
 “ lands, appoint the said *pangorang*, to be  
 “ *pangorang ratoo*, or hereditary prince,  
 “ and heir to the crown and the whole  
 “ empire of *Bantam*, by the title of *ABDUR*  
 “ *MOFAGIR MOHAMED ALI JOUDEEN*.

“ The commissary expects, that the said  
 “ *pangorang ratoo* will, at all times, con-  
 “ sider this, his important promotion, as a  
 “ peculiar favour, and a great benefit con-  
 “ fered upon him by the honourable Com-  
 “ pany;

" pany; being adopted from this moment, as  
 " the grandson of the East-India Company of  
 " the Netherlands ; and that he will hence-  
 " forward, on all occasions, and in all times,  
 " behave with integrity and gratitude to-  
 " wards them, obeying the commands of the  
 " honourable Company, and of the king his  
 " father, during his whole life."

After the appointment, this harangue was again read, by order of the commissary, in the Malay language, in the presence of the king his father, of all the grandees of his court, and a number of the Company's servants, who had come from *Batavia*, and belonged to the retinue of the commissary ; and the ceremony concluded with the playing of *gomgoms*, and other demonstrations of joy.

The second empire in *Java*, is that of *Jaccatra*, which is bounded, to the east, by that of *Cheribon*, and to the west, by the kingdom of *Bantam*. *Jaccatra* was formerly governed by its own kings, but the last of these, having been subdued by the arms of the Company in the year 1619, they have ever since possessed it, by the right of conquest, as sovereigns. It is under the immediate government of the governor general,

neral, and the council of India, and all the Javanese of *Jaccatra*, are therefore born the Company's subjects. Before this revolution, *Jaccatra* was the capital of the empire, but *Batavia*, which is built very near the former, is now the chief place.

The third empire, is that of *Cheribon*. This is at present under the dominion of three different princes, who are independent of the Company, and sovereigns in their respective districts. Yet they are their allies, and, in the same manner as the king of *Bantam*, they are bound, by treaty, to sell all the produce of their territories, exclusively to the Company, and not to permit any other nation than the Dutch, to enter their dominions; for the due maintenance of which conditions, the Company likewise take care to guard and garrison their seaports.

These princes would be the only ones in *Java*, who possessed not only nominal, but also real sovereignty, were it not for the situation of their dominions, which lie between *Jaccatra*, and the empire of the *Soe-soekhoenam*, or emperor of *Java*, who is also a dependant on the Company; of whom they must of course stand in awe, and whose wishes

wishes they must in every respect observe; for if they do not, the Company make no scruple of dethroning one prince, and establishing another in his stead.

The Company exercised their power in this respect, in the commencement of the year 1769. One of these *Cheribon* princes, not treating his subjects well, was put under arrest, by orders from the council of India, and banished to the castle *Victoria*, in the island of *Amboyna*; while another prince of the blood was elevated to the vacant dignity, upon the condition, however, of his furnishing a certain annual sum of money, for the support of his imprisoned predecessor.

The fourth empire, is that of the *Soesoeboenam*, or emperor of *Java*, which is often called *Soesoeboenam Mataram*, from the place of his residence. This empire, comprehended, of old, the greatest part of the island: that of *Cheribon*, once formed part of it, and it was then very powerful; but, since our nation has been established here, it has lost much of its lustre and importance. Yet it remained undivided till about the middle of the present century, when the emperor, found him-

self so much embarrassed, in consequence of the rebellion of MANKO BOENI, a prince of the blood, that he made a cession of his territories to the Company, who, in return, granted him the half back again as their vassal, and promised him their protection, engaging at the same time, never to make any one emperor of *Java*, who was not a prince of the imperial family.

The empire being thus split into two parts, the other half, was, in the same manner, given to MANKO BOENI, as the Company's vassal, under the title of *Sultan*, with the like promise of protection, and the like engagement never to nominate any other than princes of his family, as successors to his dignity. This other half, therefore, constitutes the fifth empire of *Java*.

To these may be added a sixth, though it does not properly belong to *Java*; being a separate island, but close to it. I mean the island and principality of *Madura*, which is divided from *Java*, by a narrow strait. It is under the government of a prince, who is equally a vassal of the Company, who, on this account, also dispose respecting the succession.

All these princes are under engagements (as has already been noticed with respect to *Bantam*, and to *Cberibon*), to deliver the produce of their respective countries to the Company alone, and not to sell any of it to any other nation; likewise, not to enter into any connections, or treaties, with other powers; and great care is taken, to enforce these conditions, by the Company, whose numerous forts and garrisons, along the whole north coast of *Java*, render the contravention of them extremely difficult, if not wholly impossible, to the native princes.

Were they, however, all to unite against the Company, the latter would be in a very disagreeable predicament; but their mutual and unceasing jealousies and animosities, are safeguards against this. Though the Company's government do not perhaps foment, yet they do not extinguish the flames of discord; which being always kept smouldering, make one native prince prevent whatever another may design against the Company, by giving them immediate advice thereof.

It was likewise for very solid political reasons,

reasons, that the empire of *Java*, was allowed, or rather contrived, to be divided into two states; for such an extent of territory as it formerly comprehended, would always have made whoever was its sole master, a dangerous neighbour to the Company, whereas being now under the dominion of two different men, who are likewise irreconcileable enemies, it is easily kept in entire subjection.

## CHAPTER II.

*Situation of JAVA.—Climate.—Land and Sea Winds.—Monsoons.—Thunderstorms.—Rivers.—Productions.—Pepper.—Rice.—Sugar.—Coffee.—Cotton-Yarn.—Salt.—Indigo.—Timber.—Fruits.—Vast Variety of them.—The Natives.—Their Character.—Dress.—Customs.—Dwellings.—Food.—Diversions.—Religion.—Physicians.—Agriculture.*

JAVA is situated, as we have before observed, to the south of the equator, in a climate, which was thought uninhabitable by the ancients, on account of the scorching heat, which they believed rendered the land there so arid and barren, as to be unable to produce any thing for the subsistence of man. This opinion originated from their total ignorance respecting the interior parts of Africa, which lie between the tropics, as well as respecting the Indies, and the great peninsula beyond the *Ganges*. The improvements of navigation, in modern times, have exploded this error, and proved that the lands near the equinoctial, far from

being infertile and uninhabited, on the contrary, yield the palm in nothing, to less torrid regions, and are able to feed full as many inhabitants, as the most fertile country in the temperate climates, provided the land be but properly cultivated.

The idea, that the heat must be utterly insupportable in these parts, is not so absurd, for the sun is twice a year vertically over them, and its rays shoot almost always in a perpendicular line ; so that it would, for certain, be nearly as bad as was supposed, if Nature herself did not come to their assistance, by the refreshing land and sea-breezes, which blow here alternately, throughout the year, and so far moderate the heat, as to make it bearable by most men. As the rising and setting of the sun, is likewise always nearly at the same hour, and scarcely differing more than a few minutes, the long nights consequently cool the air so much, that in the morning, for an hour or two before daybreak, it may be rather said to be cold than warm, especially for such people as have resided here for some time.

From the month of July to November, which was the time of my last stay at *Batavia*,

*via*, the thermometer of Fahrenheit was always, in the hottest part of the day, between  $84^{\circ}$  and  $90^{\circ}$ , excepting only one day, when it rose to  $92^{\circ}$ ; and in the greatest degree of coolness in the morning, it was seldom lower than  $76^{\circ}$ . This thermometer was placed in the open air, in the city, shaded both from the rays of the sun, and from their reflection.

The barometer undergoes little or no variation, and stands for a whole year at twenty-nine inches ten lines, as I was informed by the Rev. Mr. MOHR, who made daily annotations thereof.

The warmth of the air decreases greatly, on approaching the mountains, which lie towards the southern parts of the island. Credible people have assured me, that at the country-seat of the governor general, which is called *Buitenzorg* (rural care), and is situated full sixteen Dutch miles south from *Batavia*, at the foot of the Blue mountains, the cold is so great in the morning, that not only thick clothes are requisite, but it is difficult to become warm even with them\*.

The

\* Dr. THUNBERG, who visited both *Buitenzorg* and the Blue mountains, says, that the climate there was very healthy  
and

The land and sea-winds, of which mention has already been made, blow here every day, without exception. The sea-breeze, which, in the east monsoon is generally confined between E.N.E. and north, but in the west monsoon runs as far as N.W. and farther, begins to blow, about eleven or twelve o'clock in the forenoon. It increases in the afternoon by degrees, till the evening, and then dies gradually away, till about eight or nine o'clock, it is perfectly calm. The land-wind then begins at midnight, or just before, and continues till an hour or two after sunrise, when it generally again falls calm, till the sea-breeze comes on at its accustomed hour.

The year is divided into two seasons, one of which is called the *east monsoon*\*, or dry

and refreshing, and the air, especially in the morning and evening, not only cool, but absolutely cold, insomuch, that, not having brought a great-coat with him, he was "chilled, " and perfectly shivered with the cold evening air, in a country, that lies almost directly under the equator." T.

\* The word *monsoon* (in Dutch, *mousson*), is derived from *moussim*, which, in the Malay language, signifies *season*. See VALENTYN *beschryving van Oost-Indie*, vol. ii, p. 136.

Mr. MARSDEN, in his History of Sumatra, page 13, says, that the word *moossem*, of which the term *monsoon* appears to be a corruption, signifies a *year*, both in Arabic, and in Malay. T. season,

season, and the other the *west monsoon*, or rainy season.

The east, or good monsoon (*goede mousson*), commences in the months of April and May, and ends in the latter end of September, or the beginning of October. The tradewinds then blow, about four or five leagues off shore, and through the whole of the Indian seas, to the south of the line, from the s.e. and e.s.e. at times, however, running as far as s.s.e. with fine dry weather, and a clear sky.

The west, or bad monsoon (*kwaade mousson*), generally begins in the latter end of November, or the beginning of December. The wind then often blows with great violence, and is accompanied by heavy torrents of rain, which render this season very unhealthy, and a time of the greatest mortality. The same winds are likewise found to prevail every where to the south of the line. They continue till the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, and then are very variable, till April; in which month, as I was informed, the easterly winds begin to blow: hence these months, as likewise October and part of November,

are called the shifting months ; and these times of the breaking up of the monsoons, are esteemed, at *Batavia*, the most unhealthy of all.

It is very remarkable, that when the westerly winds blow as far as nine or ten degrees to the south of the line, the contrary takes place, at the same time, and to the same distance, to the north of it ; and *vice versa*, when the westerly winds prevail to the north, the easterly winds blow to the south of the line ; which alternation is greatly helpful to the navigation westward of Java.

For some years past, it has been observed at *Batavia*, that the commencement of the monsoons begins to be very uncertain, so that, neither their beginning, nor their end, can be depended upon, with so much certainty, as formerly ; the cause of which has not hitherto been discovered.

Thunderstorms are very frequent at *Batavia*, especially towards the conclusion of the monsoons, when they occur almost every evening. They, however, mostly pass away without doing any damage. I have noticed in my journal the only two times, during my

my residence there, that they did any; the one, in the month of August, 1769, when I was at the island *Onrust*, where the lightning fell upon the powder-magazine, wholly destroying the tiled roof, while it fortunately happened, that there was no powder, at that time, in the magazine; the other, when it struck the ship, the *Admiral de Ruyter*, in October, 1770; both which accidents were however unaccompanied by the destruction of any person.

To the best of my knowledge, there are no large rivers in *Java*, navigable by vessels of even a moderate burden, but there are many small ones, which flowing down from the mountains, in a northerly direction, run into the sea, all along the north coast; they are, however, mostly choaked up at the mouth, by sands, or mudbanks, which render their entrances, at low water, very difficult to the smallest vessels.

On the bank, or bar, before *Batavia*, the flood rises about six feet, though at spring-tides, as every where, it is more. High and low water, likewise, only occur once in four-and-twenty hours.

The productions which the island yields,

are considerable, and of great importance to the Company ; more particularly for the last thirty years, in which period, the cultivation of coffee, and other articles, has been assiduously prosecuted and encouraged.

The chief produce is pepper, which is mostly grown in the western part of the island. This spice is produced from a plant \* of the vine kind, which twines its tendrils round poles, or trees, like ivy or hops. The pepper corns grow in bunches, close to each other. They are first green, but afterwards turn black. When dried, they are first separated from the dust, and partly from the outward membranous coat, by means of a kind of winnow, called a *harp*, and then laid up in warehouses. This winnow, or *harp*, is an oblong frame, with a bottom of iron wire, closely twisted, so that the peppercorns cannot pass through it ; this is set sloping, and the ungarbled pepper rolling along it, frees itself from most of its impurities.

The empire of *Bantam*, with its dependencies at *Lampon*, yield annually to the

\* *Piper nigrum*.

Company, more than six millions of pounds of this spice. This pepper is esteemed the next best to that which comes from the coast of *Malabar*. That from *Palembang*, of which likewise a very considerable quantity is delivered to the Company, as well as that of *Borneo*, is of a much inferior quality \*.

The price, for which the king of *Bantam* is obliged to sell all the pepper, produced in his dominions, is fixed at six rixdollars, or fourteen gilders and eight stivers per picol, of one hundred and twenty-five pounds †.

It has been the opinion of many, that the white pepper, is the fruit of a plant, distinct from that which produces the black; this, however, is not the case; they are both the same production; but the white is manufactured, by being laid in lime, which takes off its outer coat, and renders it

\* See the exact quantities of the imports of pepper at *Batavia*, for one year, from all these places, in book iv, chap. 1, of Mr. STAVORINUS's second voyage. T.

† Equal to about twenty-two shillings sterling per hundred weight English, or nearly twopence halfpenny per pound. T,

whitish. This is done before the pepper is perfectly dry.

Rice \* is the second product of *Java*, and is collected in large quantities, especially in the empire of *Java* proper. It grows chiefly in low, fenny ground. After it has been sown, and has shot up, about two or three handbreadths, above the ground, it is transplanted by little bundles, of six or more plants, in rows ; then by the damming up of the many rivulets, which abound in this country, the rice is inundated, in the rainy season, and kept under water, till the stalks have attained sufficient strength ; when the land is drained, by opening the dams, and it is soon dried, by the great heat of the sun.

At the time of the rice-harvest, the fields have much the same appearance, as our wheat and barley-fields, and afford an equally rich scene of golden uniformity.

The sickle is not used in reaping the rice, but instead of it a small knife, with which the stalk is cut, about a foot under the ear ; this is done, one by one, and they are then

\* *Oryza sativa*.

bound into sheaves, the tenth of which is the reward of the mower.

The *paddee*, which is the name given to the rice, whilst in the husk \*, does not grow, like wheat and barley, in compact ears, but like oats, in loose spikes. It is not threshed, to separate it from the husk, but stamped in large wooden blocks, hollowed out; and the more it is stamped, the whiter it becomes when boiled. The native Indians, throughout the east, use this grain as bread, and as their principal food.

*Java* has been called the granary of the east, on account of the immense quantity of rice which it produces. The other islands in this neighbourhood, yield little or none, except *Celebes*, where enough is grown to provide likewise *Amboyna* with this staff of life.

In the year 1767, the quantity of seven thousand lasts, or thirty-one millions of

\* The following, besides many others, are names applied to rice, in its different stages of growth and preparation : *paddee*, original name of the seed : *offay*, grain of last season ; *bunnee*, the rice-plants before transplantation ; *bras*, or *bray*, rice stripped of its husk ; *charoop*, rice cleaned for boiling ; *naffee*, boiled rice, &c. T.

pounds of rice \*, was required, and furnished, for the consumption of *Batavia*, *Ceylon*, and *Banda*, from the island of *Java*.

Sugar is likewise an article, which is produced in large quantities in *Java*, and brought to *Batavia*. The quantity of thirteen millions of pounds, manufactured in the year 1768 in the province of *Jacatra* alone, is sufficient to shew, with what luxuriance the sugarcane † flourishes here. Much of it is exported to the west of India, to *Surat* and the coast of *Malabar*, and the rest to Europe. Most of the sugarmills are kept and worked by Chinese.

A fourth production of the island, is coffee. The plantations of it are, however, peculiarly confined to the provinces of *Cebanon* and *Jaccatra*. The tree ‡ which produces this berry, was first introduced into *Java* in 1722, or 1723, under the government of the governor general *ZWAARDEKROON*, who greatly encouraged the cultivation of it, among the Javanese. It is at

\* 14,000 tons, or 280,000 cwt. T.

† *Saccharum officinarum*.

‡ *Coffea*.

present so much multiplied, that in the year 1768, *Jaccatra* furnished 4,465,500 pounds weight to the Company, who paid no more, according to the best of my knowledge, than three rixdollars and a half, or eight gilders eight stivers, per picol of a hundred and twenty-five pounds \*.

Cotton-yarn, is likewise an important object of trade, which *Java* furnishes to the Company. It is spun by the Javanese, from the cotton which is produced, in great plenty, in the interior parts. The province of *Jaccatra* yielded, in 1768, no more than 133 picols, or 16,225 pounds, which was 1875 pounds less than ought to have been delivered by the Indians, according to the quota imposed upon them; but this deficiency was occasioned by a season of uncommon drought, by which the cotton-crop had been materially injured.

\* Mr. STAVORINUS corrects this statement, with respect to the price, in his second voyage, where he informs us, that the rate at which the Company paid for the coffee, was four rix-dollars per picol, being equal to about 14s. 5d. sterling per ewt.; but other accounts, make this article stand them in the same proportion as the pepper, twopence halfpenny per pound, or about 1L 2s. per cwt.: the first is probably what is paid to the cultivators, and the last the invoice-value, being with the addition of the charges. T.

Salt, much of which is brought from *Rembang* to *Batavia*, is equally an article of trade for the company, who dispose of it, for a handsome profit, at *Sumatra's* west coast.

Another product of the country, is indigo, which is mostly shipped to Europe. The culture of the plant which produces this dye \*, is prosecuted with vigour in the province of *Jaccatra*. In the year 1768, the natives were assessed at 6,125 pounds, though they only furnished 2,875 pounds.

Large quantities of heavy timber are also brought from the northeast coast of *Java*, to *Batavia*. This is not, in reality, a branch of trade for the Company; but it is of great importance for ship-building, and other purposes †.

From all this, the great importance of this island to the Company, is very apparent. It produces some of their most considerable articles of commerce, and provides the greatest part of their Indian possessions with food,

\* *Indigofera tinctoria*.

† See the more ample account given of the articles of trade of *Java*, in book iv, chap. i, of MR. STAVCRINUS'S second voyage. T.

not to say any thing of the last mentioned advantage, of furnishing materials for ship-building.

The island is extremely abundant in fruit-bearing trees. In the first place, there is the cocoanut-palm \*, which is well known. The *Suri* tree, which yields the palm-wine, or toddy. China-oranges †, of which there are two sorts, one of a large, and the other of a smaller size. The tamarind-tree ‡, whose fruit consists in pods, containing the tamarind, a spungy substance, in which the beans or stones are inclosed. The *pompelmaes*, or shaddock ||, the fruit of which is one of the most wholesome, on account of its refreshing quality and taste.

Next the *durioon*, or *drion*-tree §, the fruit

\* *Cocos nucifera*.

† *Citrus aurantium*.

‡ *Tamarindus indica*.

|| *Citrus decumanus*; the shaddock is a large lemon, of the size of a child's head; the juice is moderately acid, and quenches thirst; it is cooling, antiseptic and antiscorbutic. T.

§ The botanical rank of the *durioon*, though it is particularly noticed in Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour*, as well as by Dr. THUNBERG, seems not to have been yet ascertained; the following account of the tree which produces it, from MARSDEN, may perhaps be helpful to the botanist:

" The

fruit of which is inclosed in a hard shell, of the size of a man's head, and sometimes larger; it has a most disagreeable smell, which is extremely offensive to those who have never eat of it; when once, however, the fruit is tasted, the loathing which its odour is apt to excite, is quickly overcome, and use makes it, in the end, so familiar, that it is generally preferred beyond all other fruits. It is a strong stimulative, and is therefore much prized by the Chinese. The *Surfak*-tree \* has a fruit of a similar kind with the *durioon*, but it is not accompanied by such a fetid smell.

The

" The tree is large and lofty; the leaves are small in proportion, but in themselves long and pointed. The blossoms grow in clusters, on the stem and larger branches.  
 " The petals are five, of a yellowish white, surrounding five bunches of stamens, each bunch containing about twelve, and each stamen having four anthers. The pointail is knobbed at top. When the stamens and petals fall, the empalement resembles a fungus, and is nearly the shape of a Scotch-bonnet. The fruit is not unlike the breadfruit, but larger and rougher on the outside." It has by some been confounded with the breadfruit. Dr. THUNBERG says, it is considered as diuretic, and sudorific, and serviceable in expelling wind. T.

\* This seems to be the *nanca*, or jakes of COOK, and the *boa nanca* (*radernacia*, of THUNBERG; or what is commonly called

The *mango-tree* \* deserves equally to be noticed ; its fruit, when ripe, has a thin, oblong shape, and is about the size of a goose's egg. Its coat is not thick, of a yellow colour, and soft. When peeled, it has a fleshy substance. Within, it is of an orange colour, like a melon, with which its flavour has likewise some analogy ; but if the *mango* be a good one, it is much more delicious. In the centre, is a large kernel. When green, it is made into *attjar* † ; for this, the kernel is taken out, and the space filled up with ginger, pimento, and other spicy ingredients, after which it is pickled in vinegar, and is sent to all parts, as presents, or otherwise.

called the jack, by the English ; at *Batavia*, it is generally of the size of a large melon : its smell somewhat resembles that of mellow apples, mixed with garlic ; the outer coat is covered with angular prickles, and contains a number of seeds, or kernels (which, when roasted, eat like chestnuts) inclosed in a fleshy substance, of a rich, but to strangers, too strong a flavour, but which gains upon the taste. *T.*

\* *Mangifera indica.*

† Articles preserved in vinegar, with pepper and other spices, are called *attjar* ; besides mangos, the rind of melons, cucumbers, and in particular the aromatic roots of the bamboo-tree, with various other roots, fruits and vegetables, are made into *attjar*. *T.*

The *mango-tanges*, or mangosteen \*, is esteemed the most delicious fruit that is produced in the Indies. It is generally of the size of an apple, and resembles a pomegranate in appearance, only it is larger and thicker, and its coat is not so tough. The fruit, when stripped of the outward rind, appears like a little apple, of a snow-white hue, composed of six or seven lobes, of the size of a joint of a finger, having a black stone in the inside ; they are very soft and juicy, and their flavour is so delightfully refreshing that it is indescribable. The taste seemed to me, to approach the nearest to that of the peach ; but it is rather more mellow to the taste. The tree which produces it, is about the size of a common plum-tree. I met with people, who assured me, they had been cured of a dysentery of long standing, by eating large quantities of this fruit ; though others were of opinion, that it produced a contrary effect. The rind has a strong astringent power, and might perhaps be used as a dye, for a fine deep red colour †.

\* *Garcinia mangostana*.

† The Chinese use the rind of the mangosteen for dying black. T.

Lemon \* and lime-trees, are here likewise in great plenty. There is also a certain fruit called *katappa* †, which is like our walnuts, but better tasted. It grows upon a high tree, which affords an agreeable shade, and is inclosed in a green husk, in which it lies in rolls, and is as white as milk.

Pineapples ‡, are produced in large quantities, and are therefore little esteemed at *Batavia*; they are generally sold for the value of a stiver (penny) apiece, and sometimes for less.

Besides these, there are many other kinds of fruit, produced upon the island, which are too numerous for me to mention here ||.

The

\* *Citrus medica*.

† *Terminalia catappa*.

‡ *Bromelia ananas*.

|| The fruits most worthy of remark, besides the above, are the following: the *pisang*, or bananas (*musa paradisiaca*) of which there are several sorts, the best, *pisang radja*, is a delicious and wholesome fruit, with a thin coat, and an inner pulpy part, which is sweetish, and somewhat mealy; it is eaten both raw, and dressed in various ways. The *jamboe* (*eugenia malaccensis*), which is of a deep red colour, and oval shape; the largest are not bigger than a small apple; it is pleasant and cooling, though it has not much flavour. The

The native inhabitants, are all commonly called *Javanese*, whether they belong to the kingdom

*jamboo eyer-mauer* (*lengenia jambos*), which both smells and tastes like conserve of roses. The *papaya* (*carica papaya*), which is as large as a small melon, and the yellow pulp within, has nearly the same taste. The *sweetfop* (*annona squamosa*), which consists of a mass of large kernels, from which the surrounding pulp, which is very sweet, and of a mealy nature, is sucked. The *custard-apple* (*annona reticulata*), which derives its English name from the likeness which its white and rich pulp bears to a custard. The *rambutan* (*nephelium lappaceum*), which grows in large clusters, and very much resembles a chesnut, with the husk on; the eatable part is small in quantity, but its acid is rich and pleasant, and perhaps more agreeable than any other in the whole vegetable kingdom. The *bilimbing* (*averrhoa belimb.*), the *bilimbing bſſe* (*averrhoa carambola*), and the *cherimolle* (*averrhoa acida*), which are three species of one genus, and though they differ in shape, are nearly the same in taste; the first is oblong, of the thickness of a finger, and so sour, that it cannot be eaten alone; the *bilimbing besse*, is an egglike pentagonal fruit, about the size of a pear, and is the least acid of the three; the last is extremely acid, and of a small roundish, irregular shape, growing in clusters close to the branch, and containing each a single seed; they all make excellent pickles, and sour sauce. The *guava* (*psidium*), which is well known in the West-Indies. The *bua bidarra* (*rhamnus jujub.*) which is a round yellow fruit, about the size of a gooseberry; its flavour is like that of an apple, but it has the astringency of a crab. The *nam nam* (*ynometra caulisflora*), which in shape somewhat resembles a kidney; it is about three inches long, and the outside is very rough; it is seldom eaten raw. The *sunful* (*trichilia*) which, within a thick

kingdom of *Bantam*, or to any other part of *Java*; those of *Madura*, bear the name of their island. They are of a middling size, and in general well-proportioned, of a light brown colour, with a broad forehead, and a flattish nose, which has a small curve downwards at the tip. Their hair is black, and is always kept smooth and shining, with cocoanut-oil. They are, in general, proud and lazy, as well as cowardly. Their principal weapon is a *kris*, which is a kind of dagger, like a small-sized *couteau de chasse*, and which they always carry with them. The handle, or hilt, is made of different materials, more or less valuable, according to

thick skin, contains kernels like those of the mangosteen, but which are both acid and astringent. The *madja* (*limoni*), which contains, under a hard brittle shell, a lightly acid pulp, which cannot be eaten without sugar. The *salac* (*calamus rotang zelacca*), which is the fruit of a prickly bush, and has a singular appearance, being covered with scales, like those of a lizard; it is nutritious and well tasted, in flavour somewhat resembling a strawberry. The *fokke fokkes* (*Solanum melongena*), which is of a purple blue colour, in shape like a pear, and of various sizes; it has an agreeable taste when boiled. Watermelons (*arbuses*), which are in great plenty, and very good. Grapes, melons, pumpkins, pomegranates, and figs, appear to be the only European fruits to be met with at *Batavia*; though strawberries, and some others, are said to thrive in the interior parts of the country. T.

the wealth or dignity of the wearer. The blade is of well-hardened steel, of a serpentine shape, and thus capable of making a large and wide wound. It is often poisoned, and, in that case, causes immediate death. Arrogant towards their inferiors, they are no less cringing with respect to their superiors, or whoever from whom they have any favour to expect.

Their dress consists in a piece of cotton, which they wrap round the waist, and drawing it between the legs, fasten it behind. They are otherwise naked, except that they wear a small cap on the head. This is the dress of the common people. Those of more consideration, wear a wide Moorish coat of flowered cotton, or other stuff, and in general turbands, instead of the little caps. They suffer no hair, but that of the head, to grow, and eradicate it carefully wherever it appears elsewhere.

The dress of the women is little better than that of the men; it consists in a piece of cotton-cloth, which they call *saron*, and which, wrapping round the body, just covers the bosom, under which it is fastened, and hangs down to the knees, and sometimes to

the ankles ; the shoulders, and part of the back, remain uncovered. The hair of the head, which they wear very long, is turned up, and twisted round the head like a fillet, fastened with long bodkins of different sorts of wood, tortoiseshell, silver, or gold, according to the rank or wealth of the lady. This headdress, is called a *conde*, and is also in vogue among the Batavian ladies. It is often likewise adorned with a variety of flowers.

Both men and women, are very fond of bathing, especially in the morning. The children, of both sexes, go entirely naked, till about eight or nine years of age. Twelve or thirteen is their age of puberty.

The Javanese are polygamists ; they marry as many wives as they can maintain, and take their female slaves, besides, for concubines. This, however, of course, does not take place with the common people, who must be content with one wife, because they cannot afford to keep more. The women are proportionally more comely than the men ; and they are very fond of white men. They are jealous in the extreme, and know how to make an European, with whom

they have had a love-affair, and who proves inconstant, dearly repent both his incontinence, and his fickleness, by administering certain drugs to him, by which he is disqualified from the repetition of either. People of the utmost credibility at *Batavia*, have related to me, too many examples of this refinement of female revenge, to render the circumstance at all doubtful.

Their dwellings may, with greater propriety, be called huts, than houses. They are constructed of split bamboos, interlaced or matted, plastered with clay, and covered with *attap*, or the leaves of the cocoanut-tree. The entrance is low, and is without a door or shutter. The whole house, usually consists of but one apartment, in which, husband, wife, children, and sometimes their poultry, of which they keep a great many, pig together on the ground. They alway choose a shady place to build in, or plant trees all round. Such as possess more property, are provided with a little more comfort and convenience; but it is always in a wretched, paltry manner.

Their chief food is boiled rice, with a little fish, and their drink, water. They do not, however,

however, reject a little arrack, when they can obtain it. They are almost continually chewing betek, or *pinang*, and likewise a sort of tobacco, produced here, and therefore denominated Java tobacco, which they also smoke, through pipes made of reed; they sometimes put opium into their pipes with the tobacco, in order to invigorate their spirits, but the continual use of it, rather deadens them; I saw some, who had been too immoderate in this indulgence, who sat like statues, with open, fixed eyes, and speechless.

They have no tables or chairs; but sit upon the ground, or upon mats, with their legs crossed under them. They do not either make use of any knives, forks, or spoons, but eat with their fingers.

They have a certain kind of musical instruments, called *gomgoms*, consisting in hollow iron bowls, of various sizes and tones, upon which a man strikes with an iron, or wooden stick, which do not make a disagreeable harmony, and are not unlike a set of bells.

They are very fond of cockfighting, for which they keep a peculiar breed. Though

they may be ever so poor, they will sooner dispose of every other part of their property, than sell their gamecocks. They are besides, obliged to pay a tax to the company for these fowls; and this duty is yearly farmed at *Batavia*, and forms part of the revenues of the province of *Jaccatra*. In the year 1770, it amounted to 420 gilders per month\*; it is, however, only in that province that they are liable to it.

A kind of tennis-play, is also a favourite diversion among them, and they are very handy and dexterous at it. They strike the ball with their feet, knees, or elbows, whither they chuse, and receive it back, thus keeping it for some time in continual motion, without its touching the ground: the ball is generally of the size of a man's head, hollow, and made of matted reeds.

Their manner of salutation, consists in touching the forehead with the right hand, accompanied by a slight inclination of the body.

The Mahometan religion, is predominant over the whole island. It is said, that far inland, over the mountains, towards the

\* About 35*l.* 10*s.* or 426*l.* per annum. T.

south side of the island, there are still some of the aboriginal idolatrous natives to be met with. Mosques, or places of prayer of the Mahomedans, are erected all over the island; there is a very famous one near *Cheribon*, but I did not see it. They are very particular and nice, about the tombs of their saints, and will suffer nothing unbecoming to be done, upon or near them; an instance of which has been already related.

They have both male and female physicians, who have been known to effect very surprising cures, by means of their knowledge of the medicinal and vulnerary herbs, produced in their country. They have sometimes greater practice, among the Europeans at *Batavia*, than those physicians, who have been regularly bred, and come over from Europe; yet, they have no knowledge whatever of anatomy. Much friction of the affected parts, is one of their chief means of cure. This is done with two fingers of the right hand, which are pressed down by the left, and passed continually downwards, after having first anointed the part with water mixed with fine ground wood, or with oil.

For the purposes of agriculture, they use buffaloes, instead of horses, though there are enough of the last, but of a diminutive size. These buffaloes are very large animals, bigger and heavier than our largest oxen, furnished with great ears, and horns which project straight forward, and are bent inwards. A hole is bored through the cartilage of the nose, and these huge animals are guided by a cord which is passed through it. They are generally of an ash-grey colour, and have little eyes. They are so accustomed to be conducted three times a day into the water, to cool themselves, that without it, they cannot be brought to work. The female gives milk, but it is little valued by the Europeans, on account of its acrimonious nature.

## CHAPTER III.

BATAVIA.—*The River of JACCATRA.*—*The Water-fort.*—*The Bar at the Mouth of the River.*—*The Castle.*—*Buildings in, and near it.*—*Walls of the City.*—*Gates.*—*Admiralty-wharf.*—*Quarter for the Workmen*—*Churches.*—*Houses.*—*Chinese Houses.*—*Massacre of the Chinese, in 1740.*—*Affessment on Rents.*—*Bank of BATAVIA.*—*Suburbs.*—*The Chinese Campion.*—*Character of the Chinese.*—*Their Appearance.*—*Dress.*—*Religion.*—*Temples.*—*Divination.*—*Tombs.*—*Environs of BATAVIA.*—*Roads.*—*Streets.*

THE city of *Batavia*, styled by our own, and foreign travellers, who have formerly visited it, the Queen of the East, on account of the beauty of its buildings, and the immense trade which it carries on, is situated very near the sea, in a fertile plain, in the kingdom of *Jaccatra*, upon the river of that name, which, running through the middle of the town, divides it into two parts. To the north of the city, is the seashore; behind it, to the south, the land rises with a gentle, and scarcely perceptible, acclivity up to the mountains, which lie fifteen or sixteen Dutch miles, or leagues, inland;

inland; one of these, which is very high, bears the name of the Blue mountain.

The singular circumstances, which gave rise to the building of this city, are too well known in history, and too circumstantially related by VALENTYN, that I should repeat them here \*. I shall only make mention of such changes, as have taken place in the city, since the time his work was written

\* The best account, in the English language, of the foundation and rise of *Batavia*, is to be found in the Modern Universal History, vol. x, page 304, &c. This is compiled from VALENTYN's great work, entitled *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië*, and from other Dutch writers. It was in 1619, that the governor general, JOHN PIETERSEN COEN, took the town of *Jaccatra*, which he in a great measure destroyed, and founded another city, not exactly on the same spot, but very near it, to which he gave the name of *Batavia*, though it is said, that he much wished to have called it *New Horn*, from the place of his nativity, *Horn* in North Holland. Although then an inconsiderable place, in point of strength and beauty, he declared it the capital of the Dutch settlements in India; his choice of the situation was so just, his plan so well contrived, and every thing thrrove so fast under his care, that *Batavia* rose with unparalleled rapidity to that magnificence and importance, which have rendered it, both the admiration and the dread, of all the more eastern nations of the Indies; and which still dazzle and overawe them, although the city has, for these last fifty years, greatly declined, both as to opulence and population. T.

(1726); at least, in so far as I had occasion to observe them.

The city is an oblong square, the shortest sides facing the north and south, and the longest the east and west.

Through the middle of the city, from south to north, runs, as before said, the river of *Faccatra*, over which there are three bridges, one at the upper end of the town, another at the lower part, near the castle, and the third about the middle, being thence called the *Middlepoint* bridge. Two of these are built of stone. Close by the middlemost, there is a large square redoubt, provided with some pieces of cannon, which command the river, both up and downwards.

The breadth of the river, within the city, is about 160 or 180 feet. It runs into the sea, past the castle and the admiralty-wharf. On both sides of the mouth, are long piers, of wood and brick-work, about 3,800 feet in length, taken from the moat of the city. The eastern pier, which was repaired, and in a great measure rebuilt, a few years ago, cost the Company 36,218 rixdollars in timber, and 36,320 rixdollars in masonry, making, at forty-eight stivers,

f. 174,091, 4.\* ; which is, in fact, a large sum, when it be considered, that the timber costs the Company but little money, as it is produced, in abundance, in Java.

The vessels belonging to the free merchants, are laid up, and repaired, between these piers, on the west side ; but along the east side, the passage remains open, for the lighters, which go in and out of the city, with the cargoes of the ships.

At the outward point of the eastern pier, there is a shed, which serves for a stable for the horses, which draw the small vessels and boats up and down the river.

Opposite to this, is a hornwork, commonly called the *Water-Fort*, which was built during the government of the governor general VAN IMHOFF, at an immense expence to the Company ; for several large ships were obliged to be sunk, on account of the depth of water on the spot, in order to lay a good foundation, for building the fort. It is constructed of a kind of coral-rock, and defended by several heavy cannon †. It

\* About 16,000*l.* sterling. T.

† In 1793, when Lord MACARTNEY visited Batavia, this fort had, mounted and dismounted, fourteen guns and two howitzers. T.

has barracks within it, for the garrison ; and there is no other approach to it, than along the western pier. It is at present very much out of repair, and the walls begin to sink and fall down, in many places.

The objects for which this fort was erected, seem to have been, the defence of the road, and of the entrance of the river ; yet, in both these respects, it is now of little advantage, for the anchoring-place is now so far removed from this fortification, by the encrass of the mudbank, which lies before the river, that, although its guns might reach the ships in the road, little damage could be done, on either side, at such a distance \*; and as to what regards the defence of the river's mouth, that is of very trifling importance ; for the daily and continual encrass of the bar, renders the water much too shallow for large vessels, and an enemy would never seek to effect a landing there, but would always prefer an easy, firm, sea-

\* ARY HUYSENS, who wrote an account of the Dutch settlements in India, in 1789, and had been at Batavia a few years before, says, that, in his time, a trial had been made of the heavy artillery at the mouth of the harbour, and that it was found sufficient to command and protect the whole extent of the road. T.

beach, such as is to be met with beyond *Anjol*\*:

The abovementioned bank, or bar, lies directly before the mouth of the river, and extends a great way to the west, and but a little to the east, for which reasons, such vessels as are deeply laden, must go round by the east side, close along the eastern pier, in order to get within the bar. It is continually encroaching towards the road, by which, the place where the ships lie, is more and more removed from the city. To the westward, it is dry in some places.

Right before the mouth of the river, from which the shallowest part of the bank is distant about 600 or 650 feet, there is, at low water, no more than one, or one and a half, foot; so that a common ship's boat cannot get over it, but must also go round its east end. When the seabreeze blows fresh, it makes a troublesome and cockling

\* At *Anjol*, and at *Tanjongpura*, to the eastward of the city, on the seacoast, there are strong forts, and to the westward, at *Ankay*, *Tangorang*, and the *Kwal*. On the landside, *Batavia* is further covered, by the forts at *Juccatra*, the *Wateringplace*, *Ryswick*, &c.; though these are merely defences against the natives, and are most of them, little better than fortified houses. T.

sea; and a west, or bad, monsoon seldom passes, without the loss of some vessels upon it.

This shoalness of the water, is said to be the consequence of a violent earthquake, which took place in *Java*, in the latter end of the last century, and by which the river of *Jaccatra* was partly stopped up. Yet the greatest increase of the bank, has been since the year 1730; and it is to be apprehended, that the river will, in time, become wholly unnavigable, and useless, by it.

The castle, or citadel, of *Batavia*, which forms the north boundary of the eastern division of the city, is a regular, square fortres, with four bastions, which are connected by high curtains, except on the south side, where the curtain was broken down during the government of Baron VAN IMHOR. The walls and ramparts, are built of coral-rock, and are about twenty feet in height. It is surrounded by a wet ditch, over which, on the south side, lies a drawbridge. Between the moat and the buildings within the fort, on this side, there is a large area or esplanade. In the centre of the buildings that look towards the city, is a great gate,

and

and then a broad passage, with warehouses on each side, leading to another esplanade, on the north side, enclosed between the ramparts and the buildings, all which is appropriated to the use of the Company \*.

The government-house, which forms the left wing of the buildings looking to the south, is provided with numerous and convenient apartments, but is at present uninhabited. In it, is a large hall, in which the council of India generally assemble twice a week ; this is adorned with the portraits of all the governors general, who have ruled in India, since the establishment of the company.

Close by, is a little church, or chapel,

\* Captain PARISH's account of this fortress, in MACARTNEY's Embassy to China, 1793, is as follows :—" A little above was the castle; a regular, square fort, but without ravelins or other outworks. It had two guns mounted on each flank, and two, or sometimes three, on each face ; they were not *en barbette*, nor properly *en embrasure*, but in a situation between both, having both their disadvantages, without the advantages of either. The wall was of masonry, about twenty-four feet high. It had no ditch, but a canal surrounded it at some distance. It had no cordon. The length of the exterior side of the work was about 700 feet." Some further particulars, both of the town and of the castle, are given in MR. STAVORINUS's second voyage. T.

usually called the Castle-church, and a little more forwards, is a *corps-de-garde*, where a party of dragoons always mount guard.

Over the castle-bridge there is a great plain, or square, planted with tamarind-trees, which afford a very agreeable shade. The entrance to it from the city, is over a bridge, and through a large and stately gate. This is mounted by a bold cupola, from which an octagon turret rises, containing a large clock, which is the only public one to be met with at *Batavia*. It was built under the government of Baron VAN IMHOF, as appears by an inscription over the gateway, and forms no trifling embellishment of the city.

On the left side of the gate, is a large building, which serves as a *corps-de-garde*, having in front a long gallery, resting upon a row of pillars. A captain's guard of grenadiers, are generally posted here.

On the west side of the square, stand the Company's artillery-house, and the dispensary, or provision-magazine, both of which reach behind, to the river side, so that the goods are taken in and out of the lighters, with the greatest ease. This is an advan-

tage which is possessed by almost all the Company's warehouses and repositories in *Batavia*.

On the opposite side, is the iron-magazine, and what is termed the grafs-plat, being the place of execution for criminals: this is an artificial square eminence, upon which there is a gallows, and some posts, behind it is a small building, with windows, looking towards the place of execution, whence the counsellors of justice behold the completion of their sentences\*.

There are a number of pieces of artillery, both iron and brass, and of all sorts and sizes, together with other warlike implements, ranged upon the plain. Any one may ride through the gate we have just mentioned, as far as the drawbridge of the castle, but not over it, unless he have the rank of senior merchant, or higher.

The city is encircled by a wall of coral-

\* It is customary throughout Holland, and its dependencies, for the magistrates, or judges, who have passed sentence upon criminals, to preside at the execution of it. This is, in Europe, generally done upon some open place before their townhalls, from the windows of which, the magistrates, dressed in their robes of ceremony, behold the execution. T.

rock \*, defended by twenty-two bastions, or bulwarks, all provided with artillery, and surrounded by a broad moat, in which there is seldom any want of water, that being conveyed into it out of the river.

*Batavia* has five gates; one at the east side, which is called the *Rotterdam* gate; two to the south, the *New* gate, and the *Diest* gate; one to the west, the *Utrecht* gate; and one on the north side, to the west of the river, called the *Square* gate.

Near to the last-mentioned gate, and opposite to the castle, is the admiralty-wharf; and not far off, the warehouses for naval stores, as likewise the workshops of the carpenters, coopers, sailmakers, and smiths, with other offices that relate to the shipping. Here are also the houses of the commandants, and comptrollers of equipment, who were formerly obliged to reside upon the wharf; but for some years past, this regulation has not been observed, and they now live in other, and more pleasant, parts of the town.

\* Sir GEORGE STAUNTON says, that part of the town-wall is constructed of lava, which is of a dark blue colour, of a very hard, dense texture, emits a metallic sound, and resembles very much some of the lava of Vesuvius. T.

In the southeast corner of the city, close to the ramparts, lies what is called the *Ambagtskwartier*, or the workmen's quarter, in which all the mechanics and labourers, who are employed by the Company in their buildings, have their abode. The journeymen work here, under masters of their respective trades, carpenters, smiths, plumbers, braziers, masons, and others, who are all accountable to the chief of the quarter, who is called *fabriek*, or head workman, and has generally the rank of merchant. Besides a great number of Europeans, who are employed here, there are full a thousand slaves, who belong to this quarter, by which the Company incurs an enormous expence, with little benefit from their labour, which generally turns to the advantage of individual members of the government.

There are three churches for the reformed religion, within the city, in which service is performed in the Dutch, Portuguese, and Malay languages, and one without the gates, which is called the outer Portuguese church. Besides these, there is a Lutheran church, which was built during the government of Baron VAN IMHOF, not far

far from the castle ; this last is provided with a fine organ, and a very handsome pulpit.

The town-hall, and other public buildings, are circumstantially described by VALENTYN, and I shall not, therefore, make further mention of them.

The houses at *Batavia*, are mostly of brick, run up in a light and airy manner, and stuccoed on the outside, with sash windows. Within, they are almost all built upon a similar plan, the fronts being, in general, narrow, though there are a few that are more extended.

On entering the door, there is a narrow passage, and on one side a parlour, then you come into a large and long room, that receives its light from an inner court, which trenches upon this apartment, and renders its form irregular. This is called the gallery, and is the place where the family usually live, and dine. The floors are of large, square, dark red stones. No hangings are to be seen ; but the walls are neatly stuccoed, and whitened. The furniture consists in, some armchairs, two or three sofas, and a great many looking-glasses, which the Europeans, in these regions, are

very fond of. Several chandeliers and lamps, are hung in a row, along the length of the gallery, which are lit up in the evening. The stairs leading to the upper rooms, are generally at the end of this apartment. Six or seven steps up, there is one which stands over the storeroom, or cellar, in which the stock of wine, beer, butter, &c. is kept. Up stairs, the houses are distributed almost similarly as below. They are, in general, but poorly provided with furniture; and the setting out of rooms in order, is not so much in vogue here, as in Holland: nothing is added that is superfluous, or more than is wanted for use. Behind the gallery, are the lodgings for the slaves, the kitchen, &c. There are but few houses, which have gardens, contrary to what SALMON erroneously asserts, in his *Present State of all Nations*; and there are not even the least vestiges left, of there having ever been gardens behind the houses. In several, the windows are closed with a lattice-work of rattans, instead of being glazed, for the sake of air.

The above relates only to the houses of Europeans, which are the greatest in number.

ber. The few Chinese, who live at present within the city, have very wretched houses, the inside of which is very irregularly distributed. Most of them dwell in the southern and western suburbs, which are called the Chinese *Campon*. Before the revolt of the year 1740, they had the best quarter of the city allotted to them, to the west of the great river; but when, in that commotion, all their houses were burnt to the ground \*, the whole

\* Several relations have been given to the public, at different times, of the horrid transaction here alluded to; of which the most circumstantial is in the *Modern Universal History*, b. xiv, chap. 7. No two, however, agree; and the following account, extracted from a very recent and intelligent Dutch writer, ARY HUYSENS, who was long resident at Batavia, may therefore not be unacceptable. It is to be found in his *Life of Reinier de Klerk*, 1788.—“A little before the perpetration of this massacre, several thousand Chinese adventurers and fortune-hunters had resorted to Batavia, allured by the prosperity of their countrymen already settled there. The great number of these new colonists, together with the robberies and murders which were committed by them, excited no little degree of just apprehension. The famous VAN IMHOF, who was, at that time, a member of the council, proposed, in order to get rid of these useless and dangerous new-comers, that every Chinese who could not prove that he had an honest livelihood, should be seized, and transported to Ceylon, there to be employed in mining, or other labour, for the service of the Company.

whole quarter was made into a *paffar*, or market, where, at present, all kinds of provisions are every day exposed to sale.

The

" This advice was approved of, and immediately followed.  
 " A great number of Chinese were seized, and put in irons;  
 " but imprudently several Chinese of property were secured  
 " by the under-officers, charged with the execution of the  
 " order, and were only liberated on paying large sums of  
 " money. This occasioned great murmurings, and led the  
 " rest of the nation to credit a report which was spread abroad,  
 " that those who were unable to pay, would be drowned, or other-  
 " wise put to death. They in consequence retired, by thousands,  
 " from the city, towards the interior parts, and strengthened them-  
 " selves so much, as to render the fate of *Batavia* itself precarious.  
 " In this dilemma, the council first offered an amnesty to the  
 " discontented Chinese, but this they rejected with scorn;  
 " and purposing to exterminate the whole christian settlement,  
 " began by ravaging the country in the wildest manner,  
 " burning the sugar-works, and marching down to the gates  
 " of the city. Here, however, they met with a severe rebuff.  
 " The civil and military inhabitants united in repelling them,  
 " and drove the rebels back again into the country. During  
 " these commotions, the Chinese who resided within the town  
 " kept themselves perfectly quiet; and in order that these in-  
 " nocent people might not be exposed to insult, the govern-  
 " ment issued an order, prohibiting them from leaving their  
 " houses, after six o'clock in the evening, and ordering them  
 " to keep their doors shut. This prudent precaution was not,  
 " however, sufficient to protect them from the fury of the  
 " irritated soldiery and sailors, who were in the city, and had  
 " witnessed the devastations of the Chinese without the gates.  
 " On a sudden, and unexpectedly, an instantaneous cry of  
 " murder and horror, resounded through the town, and the  
 " most

The poundage, or assessment, which is paid annually by every house, consists in half

" most dismal scene of barbarity and rapine, presented itself " on all sides. All the Chinese, without distinction, men, " women, and children, were put to the sword. Neither " pregnant women, nor sucking infants, were spared by the " relentless assassins. The prisoners in chains, about a hun- " dred in number, were, at the same time, slaughtered like " sheep. European citizens, to whom some of the wealthy " Chinese had fled for safety, violating every principle of " humanity and morality, delivered them up to their fan- " guinary pursuers, and embezzled the property confided to " them. In short, all the Chinese, guilty and innocent, " were exterminated. And whence did the barbarous order, " by which they suffered, emanate? Here a veil has in- " dustriously been drawn, and the truth will probably never " be known, with certainty. The governor general, VAL- " KENIER, and his brother in-law, HELVETIUS, were ac- " cused by the public voice, of directing the massacre; but it " was never proved upon them." It is remarkable, that, when VALKENIER was afterwards condemned to imprisonment for life, at Batavia, among the numerous charges brought against him for maleadministration during his government, no notice was taken of his presumed instrumentality in this dreadful massacre. Much apprehension was entertained that this occurrence would excite the indignation of the emperor of China, and deputies were sent to him the following year, to apologise for the measure. The letter written to the emperor on the occasion, is given at length by HUYSER; the only remarkable circumstance in which it differs from the above relation, is the allegation, that some Chinese within the city had set fire to it in different places, and were preparing to rise upon the Europeans; but the extermination of the innocent

half a month's rent. This money is expended, in dragging and cleansing the canals, and in repairing the townhall, and other buildings belonging to the city. Permission must be requested, every year, of the Company's government to levy this assessment, in behalf of the city, which is seldom refused.

The houses are not let by the year, but by the month; the rents run from five to forty rixdollars per month. A good house, in an agreeable situation, may be hired for twenty or twenty-five rixdollars \*.

The churches are repaired out of the duties levied upon funerals.

A bank of circulation, has been established here for some years, which is united with the lombard, or bank for lending money on pledges. It is under the administration of a director, who is generally a counsellor of

cent with the guilty is acknowledged, and attempted to be excused on the plea of necessity. These deputies were agreeably surprised on finding that the emperor calmly answered, that " he was little solicitous for the fate of unworthy subjects, " " who, in the pursuit of lucre, had quitted their country, " and abandoned the tombs of their ancestors." T.

\* A rixdollar, at Batavia, is worth forty-eight stivers, or about 4*s. 4d.* sterling. T.

India, two commissaries, a cashier, and a bookkeeper.

A fee of five rixdollars is given, at the opening of an account, and stamped bank-bills, signed by the director and commissaries, are delivered for the money placed in the bank. Its capital is computed to amount to between two and three millions of rixdollars\*.

The suburbs of *Batavia*, are remarkable, on account of their considerable extent, uncommon pleasantness, and great population. They are inhabited by Indians of various nations, and by some Europeans. The Chinese quarter is the most populous of all, and seems itself a city, with numerous streets; yet their houses are mean, and little. It is crowded with shops, containing all kinds of goods, as well those of their own manufacture, and such as they receive annually from *China*, as what they buy up of those imported from Europe. The number of the Chinese, who live both within and without the walls of the city, cannot be determined with precision; but it must be very considerable, as the Company receive a poll-

\* Or between 435,000*l.* and 650,000*l.* sterling. *T.*  
tax

tax from them of more than forty thousand rixdollars.

Every Chinese, who has a profession, is obliged to pay a monthly poll-tax of half a ducatoon \* ; women, children, and those who have no trade, are exempted from the tax : so that their number can only be guessed at. They are under a chief of their own nation, who is known by the appellation of Chinese Captain ; he lives within the walls, and has six lieutenants under him, in different districts. A flag is hoisted at his door, on the first or second day in every month, and the Chinese liable to the tax, are then obliged to come to him, to pay it.

Like the Jews in Europe, they are very cunning in trade, both in the largest dealings, and in the most trifling pedlery. They are so desirous of money, that a Chinese will run three times from one end of the city to the other, if he have but the prospect of gaining one penny. In doing any business with them, the greatest care must be taken, to avoid being cheated.

Their stature is rather short than tall, and they are, in general, tolerably square. They

\* A ducatoon is 66 shivers, or 6s. sterling. T.

are not so brown as the Javanese. They shave their heads all round, leaving a bunch of hair, on the middle of the crown, which is twisted with a ribbon, and hangs down the back. Their dress consists in a long robe of nankeen, or thin silk, with wide sleeves, and under it they wear drawers of the same, which cover their legs.

In every house, there is a niche, or place, where the image is hung up, of one of their *jooftjes*, or idols, painted on Chinese paper. Before it they keep one or more lamps, always burning, as also, a kind of incense, which is made into little thin tapers. This idol is generally depicted as an old man, with a square cap upon his head, and a female, designed for his wife, next to him. About an hour's walk out of the city, just beyond Fort *Ansjol*, they have a temple, standing in a grove of cocoanut-trees, by the side of a rivulet, and in the midst of a most pleasant scenery. The building is about twenty feet in length, and twelve or thirteen in breadth. The entrance is through a railing, into a small area, and then into a hall, behind which is the sanctuary. In the middle, just with-

in the door, is a large altar, on which tapers, made of red wax, are kept burning, night and day. There is also an image of a lion, richly gilt. In a niche behind the altar, are representations of an old man and woman, both with crowns upon their heads, and about two feet in height, which are their idols ; and as they look upon their *jooſſje* to be an evil spirit, they continually supplicate him, not to do them any harm. In their adorations, they prostrate themselves before him, and endeavour to express the awe and reverence they entertain, by striking their head continually against the ground.

They likewise consult their idol, when they are about any important undertaking. This divination is done, by means of two small longitudinal pieces of wood, flat on one side, and round on the other. They hold these with the flat sides towards each other, and then, letting them fall on the ground, augur of the effect of their prayers, and the good or bad result of their purposed enterprize, by the manner in which they lie, with the round or flat sides upwards. If the presage be favourable, they offer a wax-candle to their god, which the priest,

priest, or bonze, who attends at the temple, immediately turns into ready money.

In this temple I saw a Chinese, who let these little sticks fall, above twenty times before they promised him success : he seemed to be but very little pleased with these repeated evil prognostications, and shaking his head, at every time, with a most discontented look, he threw himself upon the ground, and thumped his head against it, till at last, the omen proved agreeable to his wishes ; and he then joyfully lighted a thick wax-candle, and placed it upon the altar of his *jooſje*.

Besides this temple, the Chinese have several others, which are tolerated by the government ; but it is worthy of observation, that whilst the practice of the most abominable idolatry is allowed, the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion is obstinately prohibited.

The Chinese are of a very lustful temper. They are accused of the most detestable violations of the laws of nature ; and it is even said, that they keep swine in their houses, for purposes the most shameful and repugnant.

Their

Their tombs, on which they expend a great deal of money, are partly built above, and partly under ground. They are arched over. The entrance, which is made like a doorway, is closed with a large stone, covered with engraved Chinese letters. They are to be seen in great numbers, about half an hour's walk from *Batavia*, on the road to *Jaccatra*.

They visit the graves of their ancestors and relations, from time to time: they strew them with odoriferous flowers; and when they depart, they leave a few small pieces of silk or linen, before the entrance, and sometimes boiled rice, or other viuals; which is speedily made away with at night.

The environs of *Batavia* are very pleasant, and are almost every where, intersected with rivulets, by which the circumjacent rice-plantations, are inundated, and fertilized in the proper season.

There are five principal roads, which lead from the city, towards the country, and which are all planted with high and shady trees.

That which runs to the eastward, to *Ansjol* and the seacoast, is laid along the side of a rivulet,

tivulet, the stream of which running down an imperceptible slope, is very slow, which makes it resemble the canals for inland navigation, in Holland. Both sides of it, are adorned with gardens ; but they are beginning to be neglected, save one or two, belonging to the director general.

At no great distance from the seashore, whither this road finally leads, there is an oysterbed ; and on the beach stands a house of entertainment, which is resorted to by the Europeans, for the purpose of eating this shellfish.

The second road has the appellation of the *Mango-doa*, from its having been formerly planted with a double row of mango-trees. This runs more south than the former one, and farther inland. Along this road there are likewise many gardens, but they are none of them so splendid and pleasant as those which border and embellish the road to *Jaccatra*; for there, the finest picture that can be conceived, presents itself to the delighted eye, both with respect to the grandeur of the buildings, and the elegance of the grounds. Most of the houses belonging to them, have their fronts towards the road, and

from the backrooms they have a prospect of the river of *Jaccatra*.

This road is nearly two hundred feet broad, and is closely planted with trees. I do not know, that I ever beheld a more delightful avenue. It terminates at a small fort, which is called *Jaccatra*, situated about half a Dutch mile from *Batavia*, and though the road is continued, thence to *Weltevreden*, the country-seat of the governor general, and beyond it farther into the country, it assumes, on the other side of *Jaccatra*, the name of *Goenong Sari*.

The fourth, is called the *Molenvliet*, or Mill-drain, because part of the water of the great, or *Jaccatra*, river, is diverted through a channel, along this road, for the purpose of turning a powdermill, which stands scarcely ten minutes' walk from the city. The road leads along the canal, for full half a Dutch mile up the country, and is equally adorned on both sides, with handsome houses, and pleasant gardens. It then proceeds to *Tanabang*, where a large market is held every Saturday, for all kinds of provisions, which are brought thither from the interior parts.

The fifth road leads through the Chinese

*Campon*,

'*Campon*, also along a river, to Fort *Ankay*, and is, in like manner, bordered on both sides with gardens.

None of these roads, nor any of the streets in the city, are paved; the ground consists of a hard clay, which is made very smooth and plain; only in the city, along the sides of the streets, by the houses, are stone footpaths, of about three or four feet in breadth \*.

\* The streets and canals, at *Batavia*, are planted on each side with large trees; generally the *onophyllum calophyllum* and *calaba*, the *canarium commune*, and some others still scarcer. *T.*

## CHAPTER IV.

*Government of BATAVIA.—Council of India.—Governor General.—Director General.—Counsellors of India.—Council of Justice.—Board of Scheepens.—Punishments.—Impalement.—Mucks.—Orphan-Chamber.—Society for the Opium-Trade.—Chief of the Marine.—Commandant and Upper Comptroller of Equipment.—Vice-Commandant.—Military.—Militia.—Of Ranks and Precedency.—Sumptuary Laws.—Clergymen.—Coins.—Weights.—Measures.*

THE chief government of *Batavia*, and of all the possessions of the Dutch East-India Company in Asia, is vested in the council of India, with the governor general at their head.

This council consisted, when I was there, besides the director general, of five ordinary counsellors, including the governor of the *Cape of Good Hope*, nine extraordinary counsellors, and two secretaries.

Five of the extraordinary counsellors, were governors of the out-factories of Java's *Northeast Coast, Coromandel, Amboyna, Ceylon, and Macaffer.*

This

This council determines affairs, of every kind, those which relate to the administration of justice alone excepted. Yet in civil matters, an appeal may be made from the sentence of the council of justice, to the council of India.

All appointments and promotions to offices, are effected by the council of India, not excepting that of the governor general; but this must be confirmed by the assembly of seventeen, in the Netherlands \*.

The

\* Ecclesiastical preferments, and the appointment of the ministers of justice, proceed immediately from the direction in Holland. In the council of India, the governor and director general, and the five ordinary counsellors, alone, conclude upon most matters that are brought before them; the other nine members are properly only assessor, who may give their advice, but have no votes, except in the question of war or peace with the Indians, in the pardoning of criminals condemned to death, in the election of a governor general, and in a few other important points. The power and influence of this body in the Indies, are unbounded. It is the representative of the state, and of the Company, and millions of Indians are subject to its sway. Kings and princes, are crowned and dethroned by its mandates. "I have been witness," says ARY HUYSER, a writer, to whom we have before had occasion to refer, "to the deposition of two powerful kings of the Molucca's, and the hereditary prince of Tidore. One of these died miserably in a little village, near the place of my residence. I saw the venerable old man before his death;

The authority of the governor general is almost unbounded; and although he is obliged to give cognizance to the council, and consult them on some matters, he possesses a most arbitrary and independent power in all: for there are few or no members of the council, who do not stand in need of his good offices, in some instance or other, for example, in order to obtain lucrative employments for their relations or favourites \*; and if this be not sufficient, to make them obey the nod of the governor, he is not destitute of the

" he was seventy-two years of age. When I expressed my  
 " commiseration at the deep humiliation he had undergone, he  
 " answered, with a sigh, in the Malay language, pointing to  
 " heaven, ' *It is the will of God.*' " Other instances of the  
 tyranny of the Dutch Company over the native princes, are re-  
 lated in the present work. T,

\* By the second article of the oath taken by the governor general, as likewise by the counsellors of India, on their appointment, they engage " never to receive any gifts or presents, " directly or indirectly, from any one under their authority; " neither in respect, or in the hope, or expectation thereof, " nor of any advantage, favour, or other private considera- " ration, either of relationship, friendship, or otherwise, to ap- " point, or cause to be appointed, any other individual to an " office, place, or station, than such as they believe and find " to possess the most experience, the most integrity, the most " fidelity, and the most ability, for the same," So much do  
 men regard oaths! T,

means of tormenting them, in every way, under various pretences ; nay, of sending them prisoners to Europe : as was done, with respect to M. M. VAN IMHOF, DE HAAZE, and VAN SCHINNEN, in the year 1740, by the governor general VALKENIER\*. As, therefore, those who are immediately next to him in rank, depend upon, and stand in awe of him, it follows, that the servants of the Company, who are in inferior stations, feel still deeper reverence, and tremble before him, as in the presence of one, from whose arbitrary will and power, their happiness or misery wholly depends : the slavish submission with which his commands are received and executed, is, in consequence, scarcely credible ; for how is it possible that freeborn Hollanders, should bow themselves so low, beneath the ignominious yoke !

His excellency the governor general, at present, usually resides at his country seat,

\* VALKENIER, who was the personal enemy of the above gentlemen, tyrannically abused his authority in so far, that, when the council of India refused to sanction this arbitrary measure, he surrounded the council-table with a body of armed men, and thus constrained them to assent to his wishes. T.

called *Weltevreden*, about an hour and a quarter's walk from *Batavia*, and which is a superb mansion.

He gives public audience here, every Monday and Thursday; and on Tuesdays, and Fridays, at another seat, situated nearer to the city, on the *Jaccatra* road. On the other days of the week, he is inaccessible to every body, and can not be spoken to, unless on affairs of the greatest importance and urgency. Nobody goes thither, without having some business to call him; for it would be taken extremely ill, if any one was to pay a visit of mere ceremony. The time of audience is from six o'clock in the morning till eight. Every one waits, in the open air, in the court, before the house, till he is called in by one of the body-guards.

When the governor rides out, he is always accompanied by some of his horse-guards. An officer and two trumpeters precede his approach, and every person who meets him, and happens to be in a carriage, must stop, and step out of it, till he has rode by\*.

A com-

\* This humiliating homage, as well as that paid to the *edele beeren*, or counsellors of India, as will be presently noticed, are

A company of dragoons always mount guard at *Weltevreden*. He has besides some halberdiers, who are employed in carrying messages and commands, and who always are attendant on the governor's person, wherever he goes. They are dressed in

are equally required from foreigners. These ceremonies are generally complied with by the captains of Indiamen, and other trading ships; "but," says Captain CARTERET, who was at *Batavia*, in 1768, "having the honour to bear his majesty's commission, I did not think myself at liberty to pay to a Dutch governor, any homage which is not paid to my own sovereign: it is, however, constantly required of the king's officers; and two or three days after my arrival, the landlord of the hotel where I lodged told me, he had been ordered by the *shebandar*, to let me know that my carriage, as well as others, must stop, if I should meet the governor, or any of the council; but I desired him to acquaint the *shebandar*, that I could not consent to perform any such ceremony; and upon his intimating something about the black men with sticks, who precede the approach of these great men, I told him, that if any insult should be offered me, I knew how to defend myself, and would take care to be upon my guard, at the same time, pointing to my pistols, which happened to lie upon the table: upon this he went away, and about three hours afterwards returned, and told me he had orders from the governor to acquaint me, that I might do as I pleased." Since that time, the English officers, have never been required to comply with this degrading custom; yet when they have been in an hired carriage, nothing has deterred the coachman from stopping and alighting, in honour of the Dutch grandee, but the most peremptory menace of immediate death. T.

short coats of scarlet cloth, richly laced with gold, and follow in rank upon the junior ensign in the Company's service.

When his excellency enters the church, all persons, both men and women, the counsellors of India not excepted, stand up, in token of respect \*. His lady receives the same honours, and is equally escorted by a party of horse-guards, when she rides out.

The governor general, who was in office at that time, was Mr. PETER ALBERT VAN DER PARRA, a native of *Colombo*, the chief settlement of the Dutch in *Ceylon*. He was a man, inimical to all pomp, and in this respect very different from most of his predecessors. He was remarkably temperate, generally drinking pure water, and seldom taking any wine or beer. He was commonly occupied the whole day; and when he did not assist at the council-table, he was closeted with his secretary and clerks.

The director general, who is the eldest counsellor of India, is the next in rank. The direction and controul, over the trade of the

\* This etiquette was abolished upon the accession of R. DE KLERK to the government in 1777, as appears in the sequel. T.

Company, throughout all India, and to Europe, together with every thing that relates to it, is exclusively entrusted to him. The governor general does not in the least meddle in these matters, if the director have but the needful ability.

Next in order, follow the ordinary and extraordinary councillors of India. Those who reside at *Batavia*, are also usually presidents of different boards or courts. Every counsellor of India, has likewise the correspondence with one of the out-factories, allotted to him; the general himself has that of one or two settlements, and no one is excused, in this respect, but the director, on account of his multifarious other avocations.

Although every member of the council, lies under this obligation, there are but few of them, who take the trouble of the charge upon themselves; most of them cause it to be effected by persons of a lower rank; and the best institutions are thus perverted by selfishness and sloth.

When a counsellor of India, or his lady, enters a church, all the men stand up, in the same manner as for the governor general, but the women remain sitting. On meeting

meeting one of them in a carriage, every body must stop, rise up, and bow to them, and stay till they are gone by. When they go out, they have two slaves, who run before them with sticks, while other people are allowed but one.

There are always two secretaries of the government, who take down in writing, all the propositions, or resolutions, which have been discussed in the council, and lay them before the governor general, when the assembly is broke up. He examines them, and gives directions what is to be made into decrees, and what is only to be inserted in the journals for notification. The resolutions being then drawn up in writing, by the first secretary, they are again presented to the governor, who makes such alterations in them as he thinks fit; and at the ensuing session of the council, they are read over, and approved.

The salary of a counsellor of India, is a thousand rixdollars per annum; besides which he has six hundred rixdollars for houserent, seven hundred for his trouble in signing dispatches, three hundred towards providing his table, together with a considerable

table allowance of provisions from the Company's warehouses. Taking every thing together, he can reckon upon a yearly income of four thousand rixdollars, or nine thousand six hundred gilders \*. Besides the above, the first secretary has the emoluments attending the making out of the commissions, which do not amount to a trifle, especially when many appointments of governors, directors, or commandants occur, who pay liberally for their commissions; sometimes giving fees to the amount of a thousand rixdollars. Yet none of them can save any thing from this income, which they amply want for their household expences; for which reason, they are generally favoured with the government or directorship of an out-settlement, after they have been three or four years in the council.

The private secretary of the governor general, is usually promoted to be secretary to the council, upon a vacancy.

Thirty-six or forty clerks, are daily employed in the secretary's office, which is next to the government-house, in the castle.

\* About 875*l.* sterling. T.

They have, for the most part, the rank of junior merchants; nevertheless, they are not able to earn more than a bare sufficiency to subsist on.

Justice is administered to the servants of the Company, by an assembly, having the appellation of council of justice. This body is, by its constitution, independent of the council of India; but as the members of which it consists, have equally many wants and wishes to be fulfilled, they likewise endeavour to be near the fountain-head of promotion and advantage; and, as well as all others, follow the inclinations of their sovereign ruler, in all cases that are brought before them. This council consists of a president, who ranks next to the junior counsellor of India, eight ordinary members, and two adjutors, taken from the Company's servants. Their salary is, as I was informed, no more than two thousand two hundred rixdollars; which is scarcely sufficient for the support of their establishments: they are, besides, obliged to serve the office of counsellor of justice, for the space of ten years, before they may be candidates for any other office.

There are two fiscals belonging to this council,

council, one of which bears the title of advocate-fiscal, or attorney general, but whose office relates only to the persons in the Company's service, both by sea, and by land. The other is styled the water-fiscal, and through whom, all indictments relative to navigation are made. This was formerly one of the most lucrative employments of all India, and it is still very advantageous, though not so much so as before, because the private trade, is nothing like so flourishing as it was in former times. The methods by which fortunes were made in this office, will easily be conceived by seafaring people. The secretary of the council of justice, has the rank of merchant.

The citizens, and free merchants of *Batavia*, who are not in the Company's service, are amenable to a separate municipal court of justice, being what is called the board of *scheepens*, or aldermen, who are eight in number, with a president, who is a member of the council of India.

To this court belong a sheriff, for the matters which relate to the city, and a constable of the territory of *Batavia*; both of which

which are very lucrative offices, and are never bestowed but on great favourites.

The punishments inflicted at *Batavia*, are excessively severe, especially such as fall upon the Indians. Impalement is the chief, and most terrible.

In the year 1769, I saw an execution of this kind, of a Macaffer slave, who had murdered his master; which was done in the following manner. The criminal was led, in the morning, to the place of execution, being the *graaf-plat*, which I have before taken notice of, and laid upon his belly, being held by four men. The executioner then made a transverse incision at the lower part of the body, as far as the *os sacrum*; he then introduced the sharp point of the spike, which was about six feet long, and made of polished iron, into the wound, so that it passed between the backbone and the skin. Two men drove it forcibly up, along the spine, while the executioner held the end, and gave it a proper direction, till it came out between the neck and shoulders. The lower end was then put into a wooden post, and riveted fast; and the sufferer was lifted up, thus

thus impaled, and the post stuck in the ground. At the top of the post, about ten feet from the ground, there was a kind of little bench, upon which the body rested.

The insensibility, or fortitude, of the miserable sufferer, was incredible. He did not utter the least complaint, except when the spike was rivetted into the pillar ; the hammering and shaking occasioned by it, seemed to be intolerable to him, and he then bellowed out for pain; and likewise once again, when he was lifted up and set in the ground. He sat in this dreadful situation, till death put an end to his torments, which fortunately happened the next day, about three o'clock in the afternoon. He owed this speedy termination of his misery, to a light shower of rain, which continued for about an hour ; and he gave up the ghost half an hour afterwards.

There have been instances at *Batavia*, of criminals who have been impaled, in the dry season, and have remained alive for eight, or more days, without any food or drink, which is prevented to be given them, by a guard who is stationed at the place of execution,

for that purpose. One of the surgeons of the city assured me, that none of the parts immediately necessary to life, are injured by impalement, which makes the punishment the more cruel and intolerable; but that as soon as any water gets into the wound, it mortifies, and occasions a gangrene, which directly attacks the more noble parts, and brings on death almost immediately.

This miserable sufferer continually complained of unsufferable thirst, which is peculiarly incident to this terrible punishment. The criminals are exposed, during the whole day, to the burning rays of the sun, and are unceasingly tormented by numerous stinging insects.

I went to see him again, about three hours before he died, and found him conversing with the bystanders. He related to them, the manner in which he had murdered his good master, and expressed his repentance, and abhorrence of the crime he had committed. This he did with great composure; yet an instant afterwards, he burst out in the bitterest complaints of unquenchable thirst, and raved for drink, while no one

was

was allowed to alleviate, by a single drop of water, the excruciating torments he underwent.

This kind of punishment, notwithstanding its great cruelty, is asserted by many, to be of the highest necessity, in a country, where a treacherous race of men, unrestrained by any moral principles from the perpetration of the greatest crimes, perform the daily menial and household services of the Europeans. The slaves that come from the island of *Celebes*, and especially the Bouginese, are guilty of the most horrid murders: most of those who run *mucks* belong to that nation.

These acts of indiscriminate murder, are called by us *mucks*, because the perpetrators of them, during their frenzy, continually cry out, *amok, amok*, which signifies, *kill, kill*. When, by the swallowing of much opium, or by other means, they are raised to a pitch of desperate fury, they sally out with a knife, or other weapon, in their hand, and kill, without distinction of sex, rank, or age, whoever they meet in the streets of *Batavia*; and proceed in this way, till they are either shot dead, or taken prisoners. Their

intoxication continues till death ; they run in upon the arms opposed to them, and often kill their opponents, even after they are themselves mortally wounded.

In order, if possible, to take them alive, the officers of justice are provided with a pole, ten or twelve feet in length, at the end of which there is a kind of fork, made of two pieces of wood, three feet long, which are furnished within with sharp iron spikes ; this is held before the wretched object of pursuit, who, in his frenzy, runs into it, and is thus taken prisoner.

If he happen to be mortally wounded, he is immediately broken alive upon the wheel, without any form of trial, in the presence of two or three of the counsellors of justice.

Many instances of *mucks* occurred, during my residence at *Batavia* ; they were mostly done in the evening \*.

The

\* It is remarkable, that at *Batavia*, where the assassins, just now described, when taken alive, are broken on the wheel, with every aggravation of punishment, that the most rigorous justice can inflict, the *mucks* yet happen in great frequency ; whilst at *Bencoolen*, where they are executed in the most simple and expeditious manner, the offence is extremely rare. Excesses of severity in punishment, may deter men from deliberate,

The orphan-chamber at *Batavia*, serves, at the same time, for the whole of the Dutch

rate, and interested, acts of villany, but they only exasperate still further, the atrocious enthusiasm of desperadoes. The Indian who runs a *muck* is always first driven to desperation by some outrage, and always first revenges himself upon those who have done him wrong : they are generally slaves ; who indeed are most subject to insults, and least able to obtain legal redress. It has been usual to attribute *mucks* to the consequences of the use of opium ; but the words of MR. STAVORINUS, who says that they are occasioned " by the swallowing of opium, or by other means," seem to confirm the opinion entertained by MARDEN, that this should probably, rank with the many errors that mankind have been led into, by travellers addicted to the marvellous. That these furious quarrels, and sanguinary attacks, do actually, and frequently take place in some parts of the east, cannot be controverted ; but it is not equally evident that they proceed from any intoxication, except that of their unruly passions ; and many *mucks* might, upon scrutiny, be found to be of the nature of one, which MR. MARDEN particularizes, of a slave, who probably never indulged in the use of opium in his life, a man of strong feelings, driven, by excess of injury, to domestic rebellion ; or of that related in Lieut. COOK's voyage in the *Endeavour*, of a free inhabitant of *Batavia*, whose brain was fired more by the maddening fury of jealousy, than by any adventitious intoxication. It is true that the Malays, when bent upon any daring enterprize, fortify themselves with a little opium, in order to become insensible to danger ; as the people of another nation are said to take a dram ; but it must be observed, that the resolution for the act precedes, and is not the effect of the intoxication. They take the same pre-

Dutch possessions in India. Every out-factory has, it is true, its own orphan-chamber, but they must render account of their administration, to that of the capital, and remit the effects which are not claimed, or the heirs to which do not reside on the spot. That of *Batavia* corresponds with the orphan-chambers of the different cities where the chambers of the East-India Company are established \*.

The board consists of a president, who is a counsellor of India, and six *weesmeesters*, or regents, who are appointed by the coun-

caution, previous to being led to public execution; but on these occasions, shew greater signs of stupidity, than of frenzy. Upon the whole it may reasonably be concluded, that the sanguinary achievements, for which the Malays have been famous, or infamous rather, are more justly derived from the natural ferocity of their disposition, than from the qualities of any drug whatever. At *Batavia*, if an officer take one of these *amoks*, or mohawks, as they have been called by an easy corruption, alive, his reward is very considerable, but if he kill them, nothing is added to his usual pay; yet such is the fury of their desperation, that three out of four, are of necessity destroyed in the attempt to secure them. T.

\* *Weeskamers*, or orphan-chambers, are establishments which are dispersed throughout the United Provinces, for the administration of the estates of all who die intestate, and the apportionment of them among the heirs. T.

Cil of India ; with a secretary, and a sworn clerk. The capital stock, remaining in the hands of the orphan-chamber, amounted in the year 1766, to f.2,393,566 \*.

There are several other courts, or boards, as the commissioners of dikes and sluices, those of bankruptcies, a court of common pleas, a board of controul over marriages, and others.

A society was established at *Batavia*, during the government of Baron VAN IMHOF, for the opium-trade, which is still in existence.

The stock of the society is divided into shares, of two thousand rixdollars each, on which the half has hitherto only been furnished, but the remainder may be required at any time.

The dividends are unequal, yet very large, and the shares are sold at a high premium ; they are generally in the hands of the counsellors of India.

The management of this trade, is entrusted to a director, who is a counsellor of India, two acting proprietors, a cashier, and a bookkeeper.

\* About 220,000*l.* sterling. T.

Every chest of opium stands the Company in two hundred and fifty, and sometimes in three hundred rixdollars, and is delivered to the society for five hundred, and sometimes more. On the other hand, the Company is bound to sell this drug to no other. The retail of it, produces large profits, as the society make eight or nine hundred rixdollars, and more, of every chest. The gain would be more considerable, if this monopoly could be strictly enforced, for the whole quantity of opium, consumed in the eastern parts of India ; but, notwithstanding the Company have interdicted this trade to their servants, and especially to the seamen, upon pain of death, and have prohibited the importation into any of their possessions, by foreign nations, upon pain of confiscation of ship and cargo, yet very great violations of these laws are daily practised in secret, on account of the important profit which this branch of trade affords ; by which the society is much injured, although, on their part, they do all they can, on the arrival of ships from the *Ganges*, to discover if any contraband opium be on board : but those who engage in this illicit trade,

trade, take too many precautions, to run any danger of detection. The smuggling trade which the English carry on, in this article, in the eastern islands, and by way of *Malacca*, is also extremely detrimental to the society.

When any ships arrive in the road of *Batavia*, from such places, whence contraband goods can be brought, two of the members of the council of justice, with the water-fiscal, and the provost-marshall, are dispatched the next day, in order to examine, whether any prohibited wares are on board ; the examination, however, is only personally done by the lastnamed officer, who reports the result to the others.

A chief of the marine, or port-admiral, has been established at *Batavia*, since the year 1762. This office was filled by Mr. N. HOUTINGH, vice-admiral of Holland, of the northern division. He is in rank equal to a counsellor of India, but takes place after the junior counsellor. He has the same privileges ; has equally the style of *edele beer*, and may be present at their assemblies ; but may not deliver his sentiments,

except

except in matters relative to his department.

His chief occupation consists in superintending the reparation of ships ; in examining the ships' journals ; in signing the sailing-orders, and the warrants for delivery of stores to the ships ; and further, in keeping all that relates to maritime affairs in due order.

Upon this officer, follows the commandant and upper comptroller of equipment, to whom the management of the stores is confided. He has likewise the superintendence over the discharging and loading of the ships, the manning of them, and the furnishing them with provisions. This is also one of the most lucrative, but, at the same time, one of the most troublesome, employments at *Batavia*. Since he has a head placed over him ; however, the former quality has greatly decreased, while the latter, has remained in full force. He is assisted by a vice-commandant, and under comptroller of equipment, to whom he generally delegates the superintendence of the loading and unloading of the ships, and who supplies his place,

place, in cases of sickness, or absence. This gentleman has the rank of post-captain.

The Company have granted to these three officers, as an emolument, the privilege of shipping some tons of goods (contraband wares excepted) by every ship that sails to India, according to the size of the vessels ; and if a ship's captain do not buy up these goods of them, at a very high rate, he is sure to find very scanty opportunities of disposing of his own.

The commanders of vessels, with their lieutenants and mates, follow next in order ; the first rank equal with merchants : when I was at *Batavia*, in 1770, there were thirty-nine of them, who resided there, or commanded country-ships.

The whole of the land-forces of the Dutch in India, are under the command of one head, who was formerly styled captain-major, but has now the title of brigadier. In rank he follows upon the chief of the marine. He has two lieutenant-colonels under him ; one of whom has the command of the military at *Batavia*, and the other at *Ceylon* ; there are besides six majors, two of whom reside at

*Ceylon*,

*Ceylon*, one on the *Malabar*-coast, one at the *Cape of Good Hope*, and two at *Batavia*; one of these last is, at the same time, chief of the artillery.

There is a regiment of dragoons, which serve as a body-guard to the governor general. The infantry are divided into two battalions, and are quartered within and without the city.

Besides these regular troops, two companies, called *pennijfs*, are embodied, consisting in merchants, junior merchants, book-keepers, and assistants. One Company are called *pennijfs* of the castle, and the other, *pennijfs* of the city. The former are commanded by the first secretary of the government, and the latter by one of the senior merchants of the castle. They are reviewed once a year, by the governor general, and the council; and each company have a distinct uniform,

The other Company's servants are also formed into two companies; one consisting in the marines, and others, belonging to the admiralty-wharf, with the commandant and upper comptroller of equipment at their head;

head ; the other of the workmen of the *ambagts kwartier*, with the *fabriek* as their captain.

Independently of these, all the free inhabitants, or citizens, are likewise enrolled in two companies of horse, and of foot, which are commanded by a counsellor of India, as colonel, and mount guard every night at the townhall.

All the practitioners of surgery, are subordinate to a chief, who has the controul over all the surgeons, and surgeons' mates, as well on board of the ships, as in the hospitals ; and who has the rank of senior merchant.

It will not be unsuitable in this place, to make some mention of the distinctions of precedence and rank, which are so minutely attended to in all the Company's possessions in India, and which may, on no account, be neglected ; more especially in all public companies, and assemblies. Every individual is as stiff and formal, and is as feelingly alive to every infraction of his privileges, in this respect, as if his happiness or misery depended wholly upon the due observance of them. Nothing is more particularly

ticularly attended to, at entertainments, and in companies, by the master of the house, than the seating of every guest, and drinking their healths, in the exact order of precedence. The ladies are peculiarly prone to insist upon every prerogative attached to the station of their husbands; some of them, if they conceive themselves placed a jot lower than they are entitled to, will sit in fullen and proud silence, for the whole time the entertainment lasts. It does not unfrequently happen, that two ladies, of equal rank, meeting each other, in their carriages, one will not give way to the other, though they may be forced to remain for hours in the street. Not long before I left *Batavia*, this happened between two clergymen's wives, who chancing to meet in their carriages, in a narrow place, neither would give way, but stopped the passage for full a quarter of an hour, during which time, they abused each other in the most virulent manner, making use of the most reproachful epithets, and whore and slave's brat, were bandied about without mercy: the mother of one of these ladies, it seems, had been a slave, and the other, as I was told, was not a little

a little suspected, of richly deserving the first appellation : they, at last, rode by one another, continuing their railing till they were out of sight ; but this occurrence was the occasion of an action, which was brought before the council, and carried on with the greatest virulence and perseverance.

To provide against these disputes on the subject of precedence, the respective ranks of all the Company's servants were ascertained by a resolution of government, which was renewed in 1764 ; and a regulation respecting the pomp of funeral processions, was, at the same time, added to it, which is still in force.

Regulations were likewise introduced with respect to drefs, during the government of the governor general MOSEL ; by which, persons of a certain condition, were alone allowed to wear embroidered, or laced, clothes ; but this is but little attended to at present, for almost every one who chooses, now goes dressed in this forbidden finery, and sumptuary laws soon grow into disuse here, as well as in other places. Velvet coats are, however, not common, and they  
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are absolutely prohibited to be worn by any one under the rank of senior merchant\*.

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\* The act by which these regulations were established, is composed, together with a supplement, of a hundred and thirty-one articles, and relates to all the Dutch settlements in India. It enters into the most minute detail respecting the carriages, horses, chairs, servants, dress, &c. of the Company's servants, and exhibits a strange picture of meanness and illiberality in the midst of affected grandeur. By the 8th article, little chaises for children, drawn by the hand, must not be gilt, or painted, but in the exact proportion of the rank of the parents. By the 31st, it is ordained, that no one lower in rank than a merchant shall make use of a parasol, or umbrella, in the neighbourhood of the castle, except when it rains. Ladies, whose husbands are below the rank of counsellors of India, may not wear at one time, jewels of more in value than six thousand rixdollars; wives of senior merchants, are limited to four thousand, others to three thousand, and a thousand. Article 49th, permits ladies of the higher ranks to go abroad with three female attendants, who may wear "ear-rings of " single middle-sized diamonds, gold hair-pins, petticoats of " cloth of gold, or silver, or of silk, jackets of gold or silver " gauze, chains of gold, or of beads, and girdles of gold, but " neither pearls, nor diamonds, nor any other kind of jewels, " in the hair." Wives of senior merchants may have two, and ladies in an inferior station, one, maid, who may wear "ear-rings of small diamonds, gold hair-pins, a jacket of fine " linen, and a chintz petticoat, but no gold or silver stuffs or " silks, or any jewels, true or false pearls, or any other ornaments " of gold." By article 65, none but persons of the highest rank are allowed to have any trumpets, clarions, or drums, among the music, with which it is customary to entertain guests during dinner. There is a wise recommendation in  
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When their number is complete, there are twelve clergymen of the reformed religion, at *Batavia*, six of whom preach in the Dutch, four in the Portuguese, and two in the Malay, languages; there are likewise three Lutheran ministers, who preach in Dutch.

Service is performed every Sunday, in the above three languages; in Dutch, at two churches in the morning, but only at one

the 83d article, to the officers of the Company in Bengal, not to surpass their predecessors in pomp of dress, or appearance, and especially not the governors or chiefs of the other European settlements. Perhaps the 110th article, is the most curious of all. It allows to the director at *Surat*, when he goes out in state, among other things, four fans, made, according to the fashion of the country, with the feathers of birds of paradise, and cow-hair, with golden cafes and handles. It is in this same act of the council, that the orders before noticed, respecting the homage to be paid by every one, on meeting the members of the government in their carriages, or when they enter the churches, are inserted. It likewise fixes the duties to be paid upon all carriages, horses, &c. It is worthy of observation, that those upon carriages encrease downwards, from the higher to the lower ranks; members of the government pay 50 rixdollars per annum, captains of the military, merchants, &c. 100, junior merchants, &c. 125, book-keepers, &c. 180, citizens of no special rank, and native inhabitants of consideration, 200, and the common natives, 300 rixdollars, for keeping of carriages. Larger or smaller fines, are the penalties attached to the infraction of almost all these sumptuary regulations. Where wealth and pride unite, they are, therefore, of little avail, to restrain an excess of luxury. T.

in the afternoon. An examination of catechumens takes place every Wednesday evening. So that upon the whole, these reverend gentlemen need not complain, when their number is complete, of too severe labour in the vineyard of the Lord. The morning-service commences at half past eight o'clock, and is generally over by ten, when the greatest heat of the day begins to come on.

Ecclesiastical disputes, are never heard of here. The Company's government, who are extremely anxious to avoid every thing that could interrupt the public tranquillity, would soon terminate the quarrel, by the summary argument of force, an example whereof is to be met with in VALENTYN.

It is much to be wished, that upright and learned clergymen, were alone sent hither. Yet that this is not always the case, appears from a resolution taken by the government there, in the year 1768, earnestly to request that the assembly of seventeen, would dispatch some ministers of the gospel, possessed of virtue and learning, to *Batavia*, with an augmentation of salaries and emoluments. Their salary was then one thousand eight hundred gilders per annum, but with their allowances

allowances for houserent, board, &c. they could reckon upon three thousand \*, which is certainly not enough to live upon at *Batavia*, with a family, and on an equal footing with the senior merchants.

Once in every year, or sometimes only once in two years, one of the clergymen of *Batavia*, go upon a visitation, to the Company's possessions, on *Sumatra*'s west coast. Some of them, well know how to avail of such occasions, to the advantage of their pockets, by taking with them as much merchandize for sale, as they can find room for in the ship, by which they take their passage.

The coins current at *Batavia*, are the following:—the milled Dutch gold ducat, which is worth six gilders and twelve stivers: the Japan gold *coupangs*, of which the old, go for twenty-four gilders, and the new, for fourteen gilders and eight stivers: the Spanish dollar, or piaster, rises and falls, according to the quantity in circulation, or the degree of demand; its value is generally between sixty-three and sixty-six stivers: the milled silver ducatoon, which is the current

\* About 275*l.* sterling. T.

coin of the Company, throughout their pos-  
sessions, except on the continent of India ;  
its proportionate value, according to the  
other coins, is sixty-six stivers ; but in In-  
dian money it goes for eighty, at which  
rate it is current at *Batavia* ; at the *Cape of*  
*Good Hope*, it is worth seventy-two, and at  
*Cochin* seventy-five stivers : the unmilled  
ducatoon, is two stivers less at *Batavia* : the  
milled *Batavia* rupee, called the silver *der-*  
*ham d'Java*, which was formerly coined at  
*Batavia*, is made good in the Company's  
books at twenty-four stivers, and in circula-  
tion it is taken at thirty ; it is the only rupee,  
that goes for so much at *Batavia*, and is  
current at *Amboyna*, *Banda*, *Ternate*, *Macas-*  
*sar*, and *Malacca*, at the same rate, but on  
the coast of *Malabar*, it is eight per cent.  
less in value, than the *Surat* rupee ; all other  
rupees generally go for twenty-seven stivers ;  
the Persian rupees are the most current ;  
there are also half and quarter rupees in cir-  
culation : the smaller coins are skillings,  
*dubbeltjes*, or twopenny-pieces, and doits ;  
there are two sorts of skillings, the old,  
which are the same as are current in Hol-  
land, go for six stivers, but the new, which

are here called ship-skillings, are worth seven and a half: twopenny-pieces, which are old and worn, go for two stivers, but the new, for two stivers and a half; no other doits are taken in change, than those that are stamped with the mark of the East-India Company, and these are equal to a farthing in value: the rixdollar, which is the money used for accounts in private trade, is a coin, which is worth forty-eight stivers, thus three new or milled ducatoons, are equal to five rix-dollars \*.

Most merchants' goods are calculated at *Batavia*, by *picols* of one hundred and

\* The following is a table of the value in sterling money, of the above coins, at the par exchange of f.11 per pound; viz.

		<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The old Japan gold coupang	f.24	0	or	2 3 7 $\frac{3}{4}$
The new ditto	14	8		1 6 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
The milled Dutch ducat	6	12		0 12 0
The silver milled ducatoon	4	0		0 7 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
The unmilled ditto	3	18		0 7 1
The Spanish dollar from	3	3		0 5 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
to	3	6		0 6
The rixdollar	.2	8		0 4 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
The Batavia rupee	1	10		0 2 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Other rupees, about	1	7		0 2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

twenty-five pounds, Amsterdam weight\*, and these are subdivided into a hundred *cattis*, each weighing one pound and a quarter.

Rice, and other grain, is measured by *coyangs*, which differ in weight. On the receipt of the rice by the Company at Java, they must weigh three thousand five hundred pounds. They are shipped to Batavia for three thousand four hundred, and landed there for three thousand three hundred. The warehouse-keepers, dispatch them for the out-factories for three thousand two hundred, where they are unloaden for three thousand one hundred, and, finally, they are delivered for consumption for three thousand pounds at the out-factories, namely, those that receive their rice from Batavia, as Malacca, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Sumatra's west coast, &c. thus every *coyang* loses five hundred pounds in weight †.

### Sugar

\* RICAUD, in his *Traité de Commerce*, makes the *picol*, at Batavia, equal to 118½ lb. Amsterdam weight. T.

† This deficiency is an allowance which is made to the Company's servants who respectively have the management of the rice, for instance, for every 3,300 received at Batavia, the warehouse-keepers are only bound to deliver 3,200, &c. Out of this difference they must make good all loss, by dust, &c. and what they can keep over is a perquisite to themselves.

Sugar is taken by *canaffers*, of three *picols*, or three hundred and seventy-five pounds, neat, each : the gross weight is about four hundred or four hundred and five pounds.

The *ganting*, is a small rice-measure, of thirteen pounds and a half in weight.

Every bag of coffee, which is shipped from *Batavia* to Holland, weighs two hundred and fifty-two, and a bale of cinnamon, eighty pounds.

Similar allowances are made on most of the goods in which the Company trade, and they are all very particularly fixed by a resolution of the council. They form a very material part of the income of the Company's servants ; who, however, are bound to sell again to the Company, what they have gained in this way, of all spices, coffee, saltpetre, japan copper, and tin ; the other articles they are allowed to dispose of as they please. *T.*

## CHAPTER V.

*Mode of living of the Europeans at BATAVIA.—*

*Women.—Their early Marriages.—Complexion.—*

*Temper.—Manner of Life.—Education of Chil-*

*dren.—Bathing.—Excessive Jealousy of the Indian*

*Ladies.—Cruelty to their Female Slaves.—Short*

*Widowhoods.—Their Dress.—Diversions.—Car-*

*riages.—Norimons.—Carts drawn by Buffaloes.—*

*Further Particulars of the Management of the*

*Company's Trade.—Senior Merchants of the Castle.*

*—Administrators. or Warehouse-keepers.—Com-*

*mmissaries at the Warehouses.—Exportation of Gold*

*and Silver to India.*

**E**UROPEANS, whether Dutch, or of any other nation, and in whatever station they are, live at *Batavia*, nearly in the same manner. In the morning, at five o'clock, or earlier, when the day breaks, they get up. Many of them, then go and sit at their doors; but others stay in the house, with nothing but a light gown, in which they sleep, thrown over their naked limbs; they then breakfast upon coffee or tea; afterwards they dress, and go out, to attend to the business they may

may have. Almost all, who have any place or employment, must be at their proper station at, or before, eight o'clock, and they remain at work till eleven, or half past. At twelve o'clock they dine; take an afternoon's nap till four, and attend to their business again till six, or take a tour out of the city in a carriage. At six o'clock they assemble in companies, and play, or converse, till nine, when they return home; whoever chooses to stay to supper is welcome; and eleven o'clock is the usual hour of retiring to rest. Convivial gaiety seems to reign among them, and yet it is linked with a kind of suspicious reserve, which pervades all stations, and all companies, and is the consequence of an arbitrary and jealous government. The least word, that may be wrested to an evil meaning, may bring on very serious consequences, if it reach the ears of the person who is aggrieved, either in fact, or in imagination. I have heard many people assert, that they would not confide in their own brothers, in this country.

No women are present at these assemblies, they have their own separate companies.

Married men, neither give themselves much

much concern about their wives, nor shew them much regard. They seldom converse with them, at least not on useful subjects, or such as concern society. After having been married for years, the ladies are often, therefore, as ignorant of the world and of manners, as upon their wedding-day. It is not that they have no capacity to learn, but the men have no inclination to teach.

The men generally go dressed in the Dutch fashion, and often wear black.

As soon as you enter a house, where you intend to stop for an hour or more, you are desired by the master, to make yourself comfortable, by taking off some of your clothes, &c. This is done, by laying aside the sword, pulling off the coat, and wig (for most men wear wigs here), and substituting in the room of the last, a little white night-cap, which is generally carried in the pocket, for that purpose.

When they go out, on foot, they are attended by a slave, who carries a sunshade (called here *sambrel* or *payang*) over their heads; but whoever is lower in rank than a junior merchant, may not have a slave behind him, but must carry a small sunshade himself.

Most of the white women, who are seen at *Batavia*, are born in the Indies. Those who come from Europe at a marriageable age, are very few in number. I shall, therefore, confine my observations to the former.

These are either the offspring of European mothers, or of oriental female slaves, who having first been mistresses to Europeans, have afterwards been married to them, and have been converted to christianity, or at least have assumed the name of christians.

The children produced by these marriages, may be known, to the third and fourth generation, especially by the eyes, which are much smaller than in the unmixed progeny of Europeans.

There are likewise children, who are the offspring of Portuguese, but these never become entirely white.

Children born in the Indies, are nicknamed *liplaps* by the Europeans, although both parents may have come from Europe.

Girls are commonly marriageable at twelve or thirteen years of age, and sometimes younger. It seldom happens, if they are but tolerably handsome, have any money.

ney, or any to expect, or are related to people in power, that they are unmarried after that age.

As they marry while they are yet children, it may easily be conceived, that they do not possess those requisites which enable a woman to manage a family with propriety. There are many of them, who can neither read nor write, nor possess any ideas of religion, of morality, or of social intercourse.

Being married so young, they seldom get many children, and are old women at thirty years of age. Women of fifty, in Europe, look younger and fresher, than those of thirty at *Batavia*. They are, in general, of a very delicate make, and of an extreme fair complexion; but the tints of vermillion which embellish our northern ladies, are wholly absent from their cheeks; the skin of their face and hands, is of the most deadly pale white. Beauties must not be sought amongst them; the handsomest whom I saw, would scarcely be thought middling pretty, in Europe.

They have very supple joints, and can turn their fingers, hands, and arms, in almost every direction; but this they have

in common with the women in the West-  
Indies, and in other tropical climates.

They are commonly of a listless and lazy temper ; but this ought chiefly to be ascribed to their education, and the number of slaves of both sexes, that they always have to wait upon them.

They rise about half past seven, or eight o'clock, in the morning. They spend the forenoon in playing and toying with their female slaves, whom they are never without, and in laughing and talking with them, while a few moments afterwards, they will have the poor creatures whipped unmercifully, for the merest trifle. They loll, in a loose and airy dress, upon a sofa, or sit upon a low stool, or upon the ground, with their legs crossed under them. In the mean time, they do not omit the chewing of pinang, or betel, with which custom all the Indian women are infatuated ; they likewise masticate the Java tobacco ; this makes their spittle of a crimson colour, and when they have done it long, they get a black border along their lips, their teeth become black, and their mouths are very disagreeable, though it is pretended that this use purifies the

the mouth, and preserves from the tooth-ache.

As the Indian women are really not deficient in powers of understanding, they would become very useful members of society, endearing wives, and good mothers, if they were but kept from familiarity with the slaves in their infancy, and educated under the immediate eye of their parents, who should be assiduous to inculcate, in their tender minds, the principles of true morality, and polished manners. But, alas ! the parents are far from taking such a burthensome task upon themselves. As soon as the child is born, they abandon it to the care of a female slave, who generally suckles it, and by whom it is reared, till it attains the age of nine or ten years. These nurses are often but one remove above a brute, in point of intellect ; and the little innocents imbibe, with their milk, all the prejudices and superstitious notions, which disgrace the minds of their attendants, and which are never eradicated during the remainder of their lives, but seem to stamp them, rather with the character of the progeny of despicable slaves, than of a civilized race of beings.

They

They are remarkably fond of bathing and ablutions, and they make use of a large tub, for this purpose, which holds three hogsheads of water, and in which they immerge their whole body, at least twice a week. Some of them do this, in the morning, in one of the running streams out of the city.

In common with most of the women in India, they cherish a most excessive jealousy of their husbands, and of their female slaves. If they discover the smallest familiarity between them, they set no bounds to their thirst of revenge against these poor bondswomen, who, in most cases, have not dared to resist the will of their masters, for fear of ill treatment.

They torture them in various ways ; they have them whipped with rods, and beat with rattans, till they sink down before them, nearly exhausted : among other methods of tormenting them, they make the poor girls sit before them in such a posture, that they can pinch them with their toes, in a certain sensible part, which is the peculiar object of their vengeance, with such cruel ingenuity, that they faint away, by the excess of pain.

I shall

I shall refrain from the recital of instances, which I have heard, of the most refined cruelty practised upon these wretched victims of jealousy, by Indian women, and which have been related to me by witnesses worthy of belief; they are too repugnant to every feeling of humanity, and surpass the usual bounds of credibility.

Having thus satiated their anger upon their slaves, their next object is to take equal revenge upon their husbands, which they do in a manner less cruel, and more pleasant to themselves.

The warmth of the climate, which influences strongly upon their constitutions, together with the dissolute lives of the men before marriage, are the causes of much wantonness and dissipation among the women.

Marriages are always made at *Batavia*, on Sundays, yet the bride never appears abroad before the following Wednesday evening, when she attends divine service; to be sooner seen in public, would be a violation of the rules of decorum.

As soon as a woman becomes a widow, and the body of her husband is interred, which

which is generally done the day after his decease, if she be but rich, she has immediately a number of suitors. A certain lady, who lost her husband while I was at *Batavia*, had, in the fourth week of her widowhood, a fourth lover, and at the end of three months, she married again, and would have done it sooner, if the laws had allowed of it.

Their dress is very light and airy; they have a piece of cotton cloth wrapped round the body, and fastened under the arms, next to the skin; over it they wear a shift, a jacket, and a chintz petticoat; which is all covered by a long gown or *kabay*, as it is called, which hangs loose; the sleeves come down to the wrists, where they are fastened close, with six or seven little gold, or diamond buttons. When they go out in state, or to a company where they expect the presence of a lady of a counsellor of India, they put on a very fine muslin *kabay*, which is made like the other, but hangs down to the feet, while the first only reaches to the knees. When they invite each other, it is always with the condition of coming with the long, or the short *kabay*. They all go with their

heads uncovered ; the hair, which is perfectly black, is worn in a wreath, fastened with gold and diamond hairpins, which they call a *conde* \* : in the front, and on the sides of the head, it is stroked smooth, and rendered shining, by being anointed with cocoanut-oil. They are particularly set upon this head-dress, and the girl who can dress their hair the most to their liking, is their chief favourite among their slaves. On Sundays they sometimes dress in the European style, with stays and other fashionable incumbrances, which however they do not like at all, being accustomed to a dress so much looser, and more pleasant, in this torrid clime.

When a lady goes out, she has usually four, or more, female slaves attending her, one of whom bears her betel-box. They are sumptuously adorned with gold and sil-

\* The English travellers who have visited Batavia, have all admired the taste of this head-dress, which they have thought inexpressibly elegant. When the ladies pay their evening-visits to each other, the wreath of hair is surrounded by a chaplet of flowers, in which the grateful fragrance of the *nyctanthes sambac*, or Arabian jessamine, unites with the modest sweetness of the *polianthes tuberosa*, and is beautifully intermixed with the golden stars of the *mimulus elongi*. T.

ver, and this ostentatious luxury, the Indian ladies carry to a very great excess \*.

They seldom mix in company with the men, except at marriage-feasts.

The title of my lady is given exclusively to the wives of counsellors of India.

The ladies are very fond of riding through the streets of the town, in their carriages, in the evening. Formerly, when *Batavia* was in a more flourishing condition, they were accompanied by musicians : but this is little customary at present, no more than rowing through the canals that intersect the town, in little pleasure-boats ; and the going upon these parties, which were equally enlivened by music, was called *orangbayen*.

When I came to *Batavia*, there was a theatre there ; but it was given up before my departure.

The coaches used at *Batavia*, are small and light. No one is restrained from keeping a carriage, but all are limited with respect to its decoration and painting. These are scrupulously regulated, according to the

\* See the note in the foregoing chapter, relative to the sumptuary regulations introduced at *Batavia*, of which this seems to be a notorious infraction. T.

respective ranks. Glafs windows to coaches, are alone allowed to the members of the government, who have also the privilege of painting or gilding their carriages agreeable their own taste.

It is ordained, that a slave shall run before every wheel-carriage, with a stick in his hand, in order to give notice of its nearness, and prevent all accidents; for the streets not being paved, the approach of the carriage cannot be otherwise easily perceived.

A yearly tax is paid to the Company for keeping a carriage; but most people hire one, at the rate of sixty rixdollars a month, of the licensed stablekeepers, by whom the duty is paid \*. Counsellors of India, and a few others, of the Company's upper servants, are exempted from it.

Sedan-chairs are not in use here. The ladies, however, sometimes employ a conveyance, that is somewhat like them, and is called a *norimon*. This is a kind of box, narrower at the top than the bottom, and

\* The annual tax paid by the stablekeepers, is 80 rix-dollars, if living within, and 50, if without, the city. On a former occasion, the different rates of the duty on carriages, paid by different persons, have been noticed. T.

carried by a thick bamboo pole, fastened over the top. They sit in it, with their legs crossed under them, and have then just room enough to sit upright, without being seen.

The carts, drawn by buffaloes, which serve to convey goods inland, are of a very simple, and no less clumsy, construction. A long pole, which serves for a beam, goes through an axletree, which turns two wheels, or rather round blocks like quoits, which are fawn out of the trunk of a thick tree, being about four feet in diameter, and having a round hole in the center, through which the end of the axletree is inserted. At the farther end of the beam, there is a cross piece of wood, of four or five feet in length, with four stout pegs, which is laid upon the shoulders of two buffaloes, in the manner of a yoke, so that their necks fit between the pegs, and this serves both to bear the weight of the cart, and to drag it along. The carts themselves are small, and cannot carry a great weight; they have a covering made of leaves, to preserve the load from the rain.

The trade of the Company, as we have before said, is managed by the director general. The burthensome duty of his office, is greatly alleviated by two assistants, who are senior merchants of the castle. Their business consists chiefly, in superintending the housing in the Company's warehouses of all goods which are brought to *Batavia* by their ships, and the delivery of them again ; all returns on this score, are first made to them. The senior of them has the superintendence over all the goods that arrive, and the other, over those that are dispatched. Deliveries are made on warrants signed by one of them. All papers, relative to trade, which are received from the out-factories, are examined by them, and they report their contents to the director. They are both likewise administrators of the great treasury, but derive little emolument from it. Their office is one of the most troublesome of any in the Company's civil service at *Batavia*, and is not equally lucrative in comparison with others, to which less labour is attached, and whence much greater profits accrue ;

yet

yet it is an office of much consideration, as it gives the precedence before all other senior merchants.

All merchandize is housed in the Company's repositories, which are situated partly in the city of *Batavia*, and partly on the island of *Onrust*, under the direction of administrators, or warehouse-keepers, who must render account of the same.

This branch of business is divided into several departments, each of which has two administrators, two commissaries, and a book-keeper. Some of these administratorships are very lucrative employments, especially that of the island *Onrust*, on account of the large quantities of goods, which are laid up there. A certain percentage is allowed to all the administrators, upon the whole of the goods which they deliver, for waste, loss in weight, and damage, when the delivery is effected within a twelvemonth after the receipt; but when the goods have lain more than a year in the warehouses, the allowance is greater.

The occupation of the commissaries at the warehouses, is to take care that the Company suffer no prejudice at the receipt

or delivery of goods. They are obliged to be present at the weighing of every thing, and to be attentive to the accuracy of the weight ; an oath of fidelity in the discharge of their duty, is administered to them, annually, by the council of justice.

The quantity of goods sent from Europe to India, is inconsiderable, in comparison with those which are conveyed from one part of the Indies to another, or to Europe. The chief article of exportation to India, is gold and silver, both bullion, and coined \*.

\* The annual exportation of the precious metals to India, by the Dutch East-India Company, has been calculated at £6,000,000, or nearly 550,000*l.* 7*s.*



## CHAPTER VI.

*A short Account of the Out factories.—AMBOYNA.*  
*—BANDA.—TERNATE.—MACASSER.—TI-*  
*MOR.—BENJERMASSING.—MALACCA.—The*  
*Northeast Coast of JAVA.—Coast of COROMAN-*  
*DEL.—CEYLON.—BENGAL.—SURAT.—Coast*  
*of MALABAR.—West Coast of SUMATRA.—*  
*BANTAM.—PALEMBANG.—CHERIBON.—*  
*Trade to JAPAN.—To CHINA.—Abandonment of*  
*several Factories, and Tradingplaces.—Decay of*  
*the Company's Trade in the West of India, chiefly*  
*owing to the Preponderance of the English.—Pre-*  
*miums to the Ship's Crews that return from In-*  
*dia.—Decay of BATAVIA, by the Decrease of pri-*  
*vate Trade.—Unhealthiness of the Place.—Ad-*  
*ministration of the Province of JACCATRA.—Im-*  
*ports at BATAVIA.—The Island ONRUST.—DE*  
*KUIPER.—PURMEREND.—EDAM.*

THE Company's possessions in India, are distinguished into those situated to the eastward, and those to the westward of *Batavia*. To the eastward, the government, or province of *Anboyna*, holds the first rank; to it belong the neighbouring islands, and part of the island of *Ceram*. The Company's

pany's servants appertaining to *Amboyna*, are in number about eight or nine hundred.

The only article of trade produced here, is cloves ; these are grown in such quantities, that the government at *Batavia*, sometimes order a large number of clove-trees to be extirpated, and that no more than a certain fixed number shall be planted.

Thus, by a resolution of the year 1768, they ordered that the propagation of the clove-trees should cease, till their number was reduced to 550,000 ; the number of trees, both young, and fruit-bearing, was then 759,040. In the year 1770, an extraordinary fine crop, produced upwards of 2,240,000 lbs. of cloves ; each pound scarcely stands the Company in more than five stivers \*.

*Banda* is the second government to the eastward. It consists of several small

\* On Mr. STAVORINUS's second voyage he visited *Amboyna*, and has there, in book ii. given a very copious account of it. We refrain, therefore, from making any additions, to his short notice of it in this chapter ; and shall only enlarge on those settlements, which he did not himself touch at, and of which he gives no further, or a very slight account. T.

islands \*. The number of Europeans in garrison, or otherwise in the service of the Com-

\* The province of *Banda* is about three or four weeks' sail from *Batavia*; it consists of six small islands, which lie close to each other; upon *Neira*, which is situate in  $4^{\circ} 30'$  south latitude, stands the chief settlement of the province; it has a spacious and commodious harbour, but very difficult to be entered; ships anchor under the cannon of two forts, called *Belga* and *Nassau*; the first stands upon an eminence, and commands the whole extent of the island, and of the harbour, as well as fort *Nassau*; it would however, at least require a garrison of 400 men to be capable of defence, and the whole number of military in all the islands, scarcely ever exceeds 300; the next island is that of *Lonthoir*, or *Banda* proper. The residencies of *Wayer* and *Orieu*, are on this island, and it has a fort, and two or three redoubts; the third and fourth in importance, are *Puloway* and *Pulorun*; upon the first of which there is a small fort, and upon the other a redoubt; and these four islands, are the only places where the cultivation of the nutmeg-tree is allowed by the Company; the other two, are, *Rozingin*, on which there is a redoubt, and to this island the Company often banish their state-prisoners; and *Gunung-api*, which has a volcano, constantly emitting smoke, and often flames. To this government likewise belong several other islands in the neighbourhood, known by the appellations of the southeastern, and the southwestern isles. Their inhabitants are in alliance with the Company, and furnish a considerable quantity of provisions, consisting of wild boars, stags, sea-cows, and other articles of food, which they barter at *Neira* for piece-goods, and other necessaries. This trade, however trifling, is of much benefit to the inhabitants of *Banda*; and

Company there, does not much differ from that at *Amboyna*.

It has little to fear from enemies, being, as it were, fortified by nature, and almost every where inaccessible, on account of its steep shores. The violent currents, and narrow passages likewise make the navigation very dangerous \*. The Company's ships

it is supposed that the province would reap greater advantages from it, if the Company would allow *Neira* to become a more commercial place ; but the suspicious policy of the government, has always been directed to prevent the frequency of communication with the spice-islands, that as little opening might be left, as possible, for the prosecution of a clandestine trade, or for the knowledge of the situation, and state of defence of these possessions. T.

\* The establishment at the isles of *Banda*, consisted, in 1776 and 1777, of 55 persons in civil employments, 3 clergymen, 16 surgeons and assistants ; 35 belonging to the artillery ; 82 seamen and marines employed on shore ; 283 soldiers, and 40 mechanics : in all 514 Europeans, besides 21 of the natives in the Company's service : yet the orders of the Company require that the garrison here should amount to 700 men. Besides the usual salaries, the Company allow their servants at *Banda*, five per cent on the sale of goods imported, and seven per cent surplus-weight on the nutmegs collected ;  $\frac{2}{5}$  of which emoluments belong to the governor,  $\frac{1}{5}$  to the second in command, and the rest is distributed by fixed portions among the other Company's servants ; six per cent is likewise allowed on the nutmegs,

ships are obliged to be warped in with the assistance of many boats.

The produce consists in nutmegs and mace; the former, stand the Company in about one and a quarter stiver per pound, and the latter in about nine stivers \*.

The

and twelve per cent on the mace, shipped off, for loss in weight by drying, crumbling, &c.; the profit accruing by which, is divided equally between the governor, and the warehouse-keepers; the governor has likewise an allowance of £.240, or about 22*l.* per month, for table-money. When the English Admiral RAINIER took possession of the islands of *Amboyna* and *Banda*, in February and March, 1796, the first, and indeed the only article of the capitulation, was, that "the senior and junior officers of the civil establishment, the clergy, the military, and the marines, should continue to receive their usual pay." Notwithstanding the natural means of defence of these islands, they fell an easy prey to the English; no resistance was made, either here, or at *Amboyna*, nor was there a shot fired, or a man killed, on either side. ?.

\* This is nearly conformable to the prices stated by Abbé RAYNAL, who says that the Company paid nine stivers per pound for the mace, and one and an eighth for nutmegs; but the fact is, that the planters were formerly obliged to furnish all their spice to the Company, upon pain of death for selling to any other, at 14 pennings, or  $\frac{7}{8}$  of a stiver, for the sound nutmegs; half as much for those which were worm-eaten; 8 stivers.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  pennings for the mace; and half as much for the dust of mace; but in the year 1778 a violent hurricane

The third government is that of *Ternate*, to which the island of *Tidore* is subordinate.

The

hurricane having ruined most of the plantations, the price was advanced to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  shillings for the nutmegs, and 10 shillings for the mace; the charges of shipping both articles, are about one gilder per cwt.; and taking into calculation, the per centages allowed on the weight, as before mentioned, the invoice-value of each, would be as follows:

1000 lb. nutmegs, delivered by the planters.

70 lb. for 7 per cent allowed upon the collection

---

930 lb. paid to the planters, at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  sh. per lb. f.162. 15  
56 lb. for 6 per cent allowed upon the shipment.

---

874 lb. neat. Charges of shipping, f.1. per cwt. 8. 15

---

874 lb. nutmegs, therefore, stood the Company in f.171. 10

or 15l. 11s. 10d. sterling, being about  $4\frac{3}{4} d.$  per pound.

1000 lb. mace, paid to the planters, at 10 sh. per lb. f.500. 0

120 lb. for 12 per cent allowed upon the shipment.

---

880 lb. neat. Charges of shipping, f.1 per cwt. 8. 16

---

880 lb. mace, therefore, stood the Company in f.508. 16

or 46l. 5s. sterling, being about  $12\frac{7}{11} d.$  per pound.

The real quantity of these precious spices, produced in the *Banda* isles, has never been exactly known. The largest quantity of nutmegs sold by the East-India Company in Holland, at one time, was 280,964 lb. in the year 1737; in 1756, was sold 241,427 lb.; and, in 1778, 264,189 lb.; the

average

The garrison is computed to amount, altogether, to seven hundred men. *Ternate* is  
not

average has been taken at 250,000*lb.* annually, sold in Europe at seventy-five stivers per pound, besides about 100,000*lb.* disposed of in the Indies, at no less a rate. Of mace, the average sold in Europe has been 90,000*lb.* annually, at f.6 per pound, and 10,000*lb.* in the Indies. Against, however, the amazing profits accruing upon these articles, must be considered, the important expences of the establishment at *Banda*. Three large ships are dispatched thither, every year, from *Java*, with rice and other necessaries. In the year 1779, the charges amounted to f.146,170, and the revenues proceeding from the duties on imports, &c. to f.9,350, leaving a surplus in the charges of f.136,820, or about 12,440*l.* sterl<sup>l</sup>; although the able and intelligent governor general MOSEL, in his plan of reform of the Company's affairs in India, calculates, that the revenues of *Banda*, could be increased to f.90,000, taking, at the same time, the charges of the establishment at f.155,000, by which the ultimate expence would be reduced by one half. These islands, however, can never be expected to yield any advantage, besides that derived from the spice-trade. Entirely cut off from all the other parts of India, and deprived of all commerce, save the trifling bartering-trade we have noticed with the indigent natives of the southeastern and southwestern islands, they are even destitute of the means of subsistence for their own inhabitants, and must be supplied with every necessary from without. Nature, who has lavishly bestowed upon them, articles of luxury and superfluity, has denied them those of indispensable necessity. *Banda* is likewise accounted a most unhealthy place, especially at the chief settlement of *Neira*. Some attribute this circumstance to the neighbourhood of the volcano,

not a subject of so much solicitude as the islands just mentioned, for all the spice-trees which it possessed, are extirpated, and no others may be planted in their stead \*.

This

volcano, in the island of *Gunung Api*, and others to a deleterious quality in the water.

When Admiral RAINIER took possession of *Banda*, he found in the treasury 66,675 rixdollars, and in store 84,777lb. nutmegs, and 19,587lb. mace. The English East-India Company sold 3,000lb. nutmegs, and 25,000lb. mace, at their last spring-sale, which was the first public sale in England of these valuable articles. T.

\* The province of *Ternate*, includes the islands of *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Motir*, *Macbian*, and *Bachian*; which are what are properly the *Moluccas*; they are the original places of growth of the finer spices, and larger nutmegs are still found in the woods of *Ternate*, than any that are produced at *Banda*. On the island of *Ternate*, in one degree north latitude, is situate Fort *Orange*, which is the residence of the governor. The Spaniards had a footing in the *Moluccas*, as late as the year 1663, at which period they abandoned their establishment at *Gammalamma*, which was formerly the residence of the kings of *Ternate*; and the Dutch East-India Company proving the strongest in their wars, in 1680, with the confederated kings of the *Moluccas*, the king of *Ternate* became tributary to them, and the kings of the other islands were so far rendered dependent upon them, that, in the year 1778, upon suspicion of their having set some machinations on foot against the Company, the two powerful kings of *Tidore* and *Bachian*, were deposed, and sent in exile to *Batavia*, and their thrones given to other princes, upon condition of their becoming the vassals of the Company. Some places, situated in the eastern part of

This province costs more to the Company, than any profits that accrue from it.

the island *Celebes*, belong likewise to this government; the chief of them are *Gorontalo* and *Manado*; and the object of the Company in settling there, is principally to furnish provisions for *Ternate*, that part of *Celebes* being very fruitful in rice, and other necessaries. They also yield a considerable quantity of gold, about 24,000 taels, of a dollar and a half in weight, yearly, amounting, at 5*l.* per tael, to 120,000*l.* and esculent birds' nests, which are esteemed a great delicacy by the orientals, and especially by the Chinese, in exchange for which the inhabitants take opium, Indostan piecegoods, chiefly blue cloth, fine Bengal coiffes and hummums, together with some cutlery. *Ternate* does not, in general, require any supply of provisions from *Java*, as the isles of *Banda* do. Some have given as a reason for this difference, that, from the commencement of the dominion of the Dutch in the *Molucca* islands, the lives of the inhabitants have been spared; whereas in *Banda*, they were all exterminated, under the pretence that they were a perfidious nation, upon whose engagements no dependence could be placed; and now that the cultivation of the soil there has fallen into the hands of a mixture of Europeans and Indians, either as proprietors or lessees of the spice-plantations, they have not been able to attend to the propagation of rice or other articles of food. In 1776—1777, the establishment of *Ternate* consisted of fifty-nine persons in civil employments, three in ecclesiastical situations, ten surgeons and assistants, thirty-eight belonging to the artillery, 214 seamen and marines employed on shore, 456 soldiers, and sixty-seven mechanics, in all 847. In addition to his salary, the governor has a yearly allowance of £2,400, or about 220*l.* sterling, for the expence of entertaining the native princes; the governor and the second in command, have five per cent divided

it. It is, however, of great importance, to defend the spice-islands, to which, together with five or six other small islands, it serves as a key. These are properly the *Molucca* islands.

A few years ago, the English established themselves at a small island, not far distant from *Ternate*, which is called *Sullock*, but they abandoned it again in 1766.

The charges which the Company incur at *Ternate*, amount to about one hundred and forty thousand gilders per annum, and the profits on the goods which are consumed among the natives, to sixty or seventy thousand \*.

This

equally between them, on the sale of all goods imported; and one per cent is allowed on the collection of gold, to be divided between the governor and the collector. T.

\* The Company pay a yearly sum of £32,250, or nearly 3,000*l* sterling, to the kings of the *Moluccas*, in consideration of which, they engage to destroy all the spice-trees, which are dispersed through the woods of their extensive islands, and detachments of Europeans are sent out from time to time, to see that this extirpation be duly executed. The Company do not retain possession of the *Moluccas* on account of their intrinsic value, but for political reasons, in order to keep other nations from the neighbourhood of *Amboyna* and *Landa*, to the security

This island suffered greatly in the month of August, 1770, by earthquakes. More than sixty violent shocks were felt in the space of four-and-twenty hours, and the fortifications were much injured.

*Macaffer* is the fourth government; it is situated on the island of *Celebes*, part of which is under the dominion of the Company, while they are in alliance with most of the native sovereigns of the remainder. The establishment here is equal to those of the beforementioned governments. There are fortresses, which are dispersed over the island, to keep the natives in awe; but the chief power of the Company, consists in the policy of fomenting the mutual jealousy of

security of which the possession of *Ternate* was supposed greatly to contribute. The expences of government at the *Moluccas*, were calculated by the governor general *Moszel*, at £144,500 per annum, and the revenues at £90,000; but, in 1779, after the revolution mentioned in a preceding note, the former were found to amount to £229,406, and the latter to £114,997, leaving a deficit of £114,409, or about 10,400*l.* sterling, which is a large sum, when we consider that the mother-country derives no advantage from this settlement; for the profits on the gold and birds' nests, beforementioned, are consumed in India, and scarcely suffice to make good the charge of sending a ship thither, as is done every year from *Batavia*, with stores and necessaries for the government. *T.*

the Indian princes, their allies, by which they are prevented from uniting, and are, in consequence, unable to undertake anything against the Dutch.

The profits of the Company amounted, in the year 1755, to eighty thousand, and their charges to one hundred and fifty-five thousand gilders.

Slaves and rice, are the chief objects of traffic here; but the establishment is likewise considered of great importance, for the security of the *Moluccas*, and the spice-islands \*.

Upon the island of *Timor*, part of which belongs to the Portuguese, and part to the Dutch, the Company have a small settlement, the profits and expences of which are nearly equal †.

At

\* See the further ample account of the settlement at *Macassar*, in Mr. STAVORINUS's Second Voyage. T.

† *Timor* is an island lying in the direction of N.E. between  $8^{\circ} 40'$ , and  $10^{\circ} 30'$ , south latitude; the Dutch settlement is at a fort called *Coupan*, at the s.w. part of it, in latitude  $10^{\circ} 12'$  south, and in longitude, according to the Dutch charts,  $121^{\circ} 51'$ , east, but according to Captain BLIGH, in  $124^{\circ} 41'$ , east. The chief of the settlement has the rank of merchant, with an additional salary of £2,000, and the establishment consisted in 1776—1777, of ten persons in civil, and

At *Banjermassing*, situated on the south side of the great island of *Borneo*, the charges and revenues are equally nearly upon a par. Its chief product is pepper\*.

*Malacca*

and two in ecclesiastical employments, two surgeons, five belonging to the artillery, eight marines, forty soldiers, and three mechanics, in all, seventy Europeans. The N.E. and south sides of the island belong to the Dutch, whose governor has equally the controul over the neighbouring small islands of *Rotti*, *Savu*, and some others, which are governed by their own native princes, but who are dependent of the Company, and pay yearly acknowledgments of small value, consisting principally in wax, which is the chief article produced in their domains. The Portuguese have a small factory, called *Lifau*, on the north side of *Timor*. The charges of the Dutch establishment here, amounted, in 1779, to *f.11,712*, and the receipts to *f.13,619*. And upon the whole, they have been computed to be nearly upon a par. *Timor* furnishes a number of slaves for private use, who are of a pliant disposition and temper, and are much employed at *Banda*, in the cultivation and preparation of nutmegs and mace. The Company likewise receive from *Timor* a considerable quantity of sandal-wood and beefwax (though the former article is now scarce), in exchange for piecegoods, on the sale of which five per cent is allowed, in equal proportions, to the two first officers; the profits on this little trade are more than adequate, to make good the charges of the ship, which is annually dispatched from *Batavia*, for the purposes of fetching them, and of carrying a cargo of necessaries to the government. *T.*

\* The factory at *Banjermassing*, lies in  $3^{\circ}$  south latitude. There is a small fort, where a junior merchant, as resident, with about twenty-five or thirty soldiers, are stationed. The

*Malacca* is the fifth government, and a place of great importance, for it commands the

object of this establishment, is chiefly the collection, or purchase, of the pepper and rough diamonds, produced in the country. Five per cent on the pepper collected, is allowed to the resident. The contract entered into with the king, obliges him to deliver 600,000 pounds, at three stivers per pound; and this is the only article which induces the Company to retain this possession, for the profits on the rough diamonds, gold, wax, canes, and sago, would not be sufficient to make good the charges. The respective qualities of these latter articles are also so inferior, that the trade of the Company in them, is confined to a mere trifle. The circumjacent Indian nations, and the Chinese, carry on a great trade with *Borneo*. The English have some establishments on the north coast of *Borneo*, but their settlement at *Balambangan*, was destroyed, in 1775, by the Soloos, and we know not whether it has been reestablished. They have endeavoured to rear the nutmeg at these places. They succeeded tolerably in the beginning, but either their plants have degenerated, or they had not originally the genuine kind, for the nutmegs they now produce are much less in value, than those which are grown at *Landa*, and are, in fact, what are called wild nutmegs, being of an oblong shape, and a less spicy nature than the true ones. *Banjermassing* is of no importance to the Company as a source of revenue, for they do not possess a foot of land, without their fort, and are obliged to be constantly on their guard against the insidious attacks of the natives; though, in 1769, an order, which was made in 1754, for all captains of vessels going thither, "not to land all the cash they had on board for the factory, at one time," was withdrawn; the fort being then thought sufficiently strong to withstand

the passage through the straits of that name to the eastern parts of Asia, as all ships

withstand any assault of the Indians. The charges of this establishment, were, in 1779, £12,091, about 1,100*l.* sterling, which, together with those of conveying the pepper to *Batavia*, are scarcely covered by the profits accruing on this scanty trade.

*Landak* and *Succadana*, are possessions which the Dutch Company have obtained in *Borneo*, by grant from the king of *Bantam*, to whose crown they were appendages, being provinces formerly conquered by the Bantameſe; in the year 1778, he ceded the entire property of them to the Company, who immediately ſent a ſhip from *Batavia*, with an adequate force to take poſſeſſion of them, and enter into a treaty with the ſultan of the country. Both theſe objects having ſucceeded, the Company ſettled themſelves in a ſmall fort, called *Puniana*, ſituated on a river of the name of *Lava*. The eſtablishment, as may be conceived, is not large, it remaining yet to be proved whether the commerce that may be carried on here, will anſwer the expence. Between thirty and forty men, are garrifoned here; and, in 1779, the charges amounted to £9,726, about 834*l.* and the profits, which had then been made upon the ſale of piecegoods, and other trifles, were no more than £1,764, about 160*l.* but hopes have been enteredained that theſe places will, in future, be of great advantage to the Company, grounded upon the various articles of trade, which *Borneo* is known to produce, namely, rough diamonds, camphor, benzoin, canes, iron, copper, bezoar, fago, wax, birds' neſts, gold, &c. Yet, taking into conſideration the propensity of the Borneans to theft, and to illiciſt trade, as well as that ſeveral of the above productions are not to be met with, within twenty days' journey, up the country, it may well be doubted, whether any benefit can be ſpeedily, or ultimately, derived from theſe ſettlements. T.

going to *China*, *Tonquin*, *Siam*, the *Molucca*, and *Sunda* islands, must either pass by here, or else through the straits of *Sunda*; both which passages can be blocked up, by means of the Company's possessions. The whole establishment at *Malacca*, is computed to amount to five hundred men \*. The revenues and charges of the government are each about one hundred thousand gilders †.

The

\* In 1776—1777, the establishment at *Malacca*, consisted of thirty-nine persons in civil, and three in ecclesiastical employments, seven surgeons and assistants, sixteen belonging to the artillery, 129 seamen and marines, 262 soldiers, and forty-three mechanics, in all 499 Europeans. The city is situated in  $3^{\circ} 10'$ , north latitude, and was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, in 1640, after a most obstinate defence. It is represented as a strong place. It was taken possession of by the English in August, 1795.

† Governor MOSEL stated the charges of this settlement in his time at £.102,000, and the revenues at £.89,000 per annum; in 1779, however, the former amounted to £.113,235, and the latter to £.162,520, leaving a balance in favour of the colony of £.49,285, or about 4,480*l.* sterling. This revenue proceeds from the duties laid on imports and exports, a great trade being carried on here by the Indians, and free European merchants of all nations, and from the profits on the goods vended by the Company. Of the export-duty of six per cent one fourth is allowed, as a perquisite, to the Company's servants, of which, the governor has forty per cent, the second in command fifteen, and the rest is distributed, in different proportions, to the inferior officers. The governor has also an

The sixth government in order, is that of the *Northeast Coast of Java*; the head of which generally resides at *Samarang*. The Company draw almost all their rice and timber from this province. All the seaports along this coast, as far as *Cheribon*, where chiefs, or residents, are stationed by the Company, belong to it. This is said

allowance of one gilder, about 1*s.* 9*d.* per picol, on all the tin collected. A large quantity of this article, 3 or 400,000*lb.* weight, is purchased here every year, at about *f.* 30 per 100*lb.* equal to about 6*s.* sterling per *cwt.* which is generally disposed of in Asia. In 1778, however, 100,000*lb.* was sold in Holland at *f.* 40 per 100*lb.* This settlement likewise yields some gold, areca, brimstone, and rosin, together with very good masts, for the small vessels which are built at *Rembang*, and at the island *Onrust*. Upon all these, the profits are not inconsiderable, as the whole of these articles are in great request throughout the Indies. The commissioners for the trade on both sides of the strait, have five per cent on all purchases and sales, and one per cent on the gold they collect, out of which they must defray their own travelling expences. The territorial extent of this government is not very great; it is confined to the city of *Malacca*, and the neighbouring small province of *Pera*, where the Company have a fort, for protecting the collection of the tin, which is dug there. In 1783, *Rio*, or *Riow*, situated near *Malacca*, which was the resort of a notorious nest of smugglers, was subdued by Commodore VAN BRAAM, and has since been added to the jurisdiction of *Malacca*. T.

to

to be at present, the most lucrative of all the goverments in India \*.

The seventh, is that of the coast of *Coromandel*. Besides the head settlement, *Negapatnam* †, all the Company's other factories along this coast, belong to it. These are *Sadraspatnam*, *Palicol*, *Jagernak-pouram* and *Bemelipatnam* ‡. The articles  
of

\* We refer the reader to the second voyage of Mr. STAVORINUS, for particulars respecting the Dutch settlements along the northeast coast of Java. T.

† *Negapatnam* is a strong fortress, and walled town, in the kingdom of *Tanjore*, and 11° north latitude. It was formerly the chief settlement of the Dutch, on this coast, and cost them much money in maintaining the garrison and fortifications. In the war of 1780, it was, however, taken by the English, and ceded to them by the treaty of peace in 1783. The statements adduced below, both of the establishment on the coast, and of the revenues and expences, are taken from dates preceding this event; none subsequent to it, have been attainable; nor has it been possible to ascertain the specific proportion of *Negapatnam*, in either; so that greater uncertainty must prevail on this subject, than in any of our other additions. T.

‡ Our author here omits the settlement of *Palliacatta*, where the Dutch established themselves as early as 1609, when they built a square fort, called *Geldria*; and whither, since the loss of *Negapatnam*, the chief government of their  
set-

of trade which it furnishes, are all sorts of cotton piece-goods.

*Ceylon*

settlements on the coast, has been transposed. The fort is in  $13^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, the city which adjoins to it lies in the dominions of the Nabob of *Arcot*. The trade here, and indeed all along the *Coromandel* coast, in arrack, sugar, Japan copper, spices, and other articles brought from *Batavia*, is very brisk. *Sadraspattam* is a town, equally in the dominions of the nabob of *Arcot*, from whom the Company have farmed it; they have a fortified lodge here, and have frequented this place, since 1647: it lies in  $12^{\circ} 40'$  north. *Palcol* is a village belonging to the Company, in  $16^{\circ} 40'$  north, and in the country of *Narsipore*; together with the two following places, it is situated in the kingdom of *Golkonda*. *Jagernakpouram*, lies in  $17^{\circ} 20'$  north; the territory upon which it stands, together with the factory at *Daatijerom*, and two villages near it, which are used for the bleaching of calicoes and other piecegoods, are the property of the Company; the factory is defended by ramparts of earth. *Bemelipatnam*, the north latitude of which is nearly  $18^{\circ}$ , is a place, which the Company hold in farm; they have a new fort here, and the road before it, as well as that at *Jagernakpouram*, is practicable, from December to September. The Dutch Company likewise carry on a considerable trade at *Masulipatnam*, and they have a resident at *Porto-novo*, which is under the nabob of *Arcot*, for the purchase of cottons, on which they pay an export-duty of one per cent. In 1776 — 1777, their establishment on the coast of *Coromandel*, consisted of 1,175 Europeans; namely, 142 in civil, and nine in ecclesiastical employments; fourteen surgeons and assistants; seventy-nine belonging to the artillery; 184 seamen and marines, employed on shore; 736 soldiers, and eleven

*Ceylon* is the eighth government, to which likewise belongs *Madura*, situate on the opposite shore \*.

This

eleven mechanics, besides 137 natives. The revenues, and the profits on the merchandize disposed of, amounted in 1779, for all these settlements, *Negapatnam* included, to £.427,131, and the charges to £.452,133. The intelligent *Mosser*, who was particularly acquainted with the local circumstances of this coast, as he was five years governor of the Company's *Coromandel* settlements, calculated that the former might be made to amount to £.520,000, and the latter reduced to £.260,000. One or two ships are annually dispatched direct to Europe, with piecegoods, and caliatour-wood, the rest go first to *Batavia*. The value of the piecegoods, sold in 1778, in Holland, was £.2,000,000, about 181,818*l.* sterling; and of caliatour-wood 200,000 *lb.* were sold at £.20 per 100 *lb.* It is computed that twenty-five per cent is gained on both articles. The whole of the Dutch settlements on this coast are now in possession of the English. T.

\* *Ceylon* lies between 6° and 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° north. The struggles between the Dutch and Portuguese, for this island, lasted from 1638 to 1655, in which last year the latter were entirely driven from it, by the loss of *Colombo*. This place, which is well fortified, is the chief settlement, and the residence of the governor; it is situated on the west side of the island, and at the broadest part of it. *Candy*, the metropolis of the island, and the seat of the emperor, lies about fifteen Dutch miles, inland, from *Colombo*; it was taken in 1764, by the Dutch, but restored to the emperor by the subsequent peace. The district of *Colombo* extends about twenty leagues in length, and eight in

This extensive island may be said to be entirely under the dominion of the Company since

in breadth; it abounds in cinnamon-groves and rice-fields, black cattle and poultry, and is very populous. There is a seminariu at *Colombo*, for the propagation of the christian religion; and it is computed, that there are 300,000 native christians in *Ceylon*. The road of *Colombo* is unsafe, and only practicable for a few months in the year. Five leagues north of *Colombo* is *Negombo*, a fortress of less consideration, but the cinnamon produced in its district is the best of the island; it likewise yields a large quantity of *cōir* for cordage. *Jaffnapatnam* is a place of consequence, strongly fortified, lying opposite to, and not far from, the continent of Indostan; it is the capital of what was formerly a kingdom, nearly sixty leagues in circumference: elephants form the only object of trade of this country for the Company; this, however, yields, in general, a profit of £50,000, about 4550*l.* sterling, yearly. A considerable number of these animals are delivered annually to the Company, by the native princes in this district, who are, on that consideration, left in possession of the sovereignty over the country, and the inhabitants. *Trincomalee* is on the opposite side of the island, thirty-five leagues from *Jaffnapatnam*. Fort *Oostenburg*, which stands upon a cliff, projecting about 1500 paces into the sea, was built by the Portuguese, with the materials of a famous pagoda which stood there, and was destroyed by them; the Dutch possessed themselves of it in 1639, and, notwithstanding its seeming natural strength, it has not proved sufficient to resist the attack of an European enemy, having been taken twice in the present century; its harbour is celebrated as one of the most commodious and extensive in the world, and it is peculiarly favourably situated for keeping up a correspondence with the king of *Candy*, and, of course, for engrossing the trade of the cinnamon grown in his dominions.

since the treaty of peace, concluded, in 1766, with the emperor of *Candy*; for they now possess, in sovereignty, all the seacoasts and harbours round the island: nothing but the interior parts has been left to the emperor, and he is wholly inclosed in them, without any access to the sea, except by passing over the territory of the Company. This is, in fact, the chief, if not the sole, advantage derived from that expensive war, which, it has been computed, cost the Company more than eight millions of gilders \*. The Dutch

dominions. About eighteen leagues farther is *Batticaloa*, which is a fort of but little strength, but on account of the fertility of its district in all kinds of provisions, of some importance to the Company. *Punto Gallo* is a secure harbour, at the southern extremity of the island, in the fertile province of *Mature*, where some coffee and pepper are produced; in this harbour, all the ships for Holland are loaden in November and in February, with the various products of *Ceylon*, and those taken in trade at *Colombo*, all which must be conveyed to *Punto Gallo*, to be shipped to Europe: besides these, there are several smaller forts, *Caliture*, *Kalpetty*, *Putelang*, *Chilau*, and *Manaaer*, which serve chiefly to cover the most open parts of the coast; and the factories, on the opposite shore of India, appertain also to the government of *Ceylon*; these are, *Tutucorin*, *Kilcare*, *Ponnecail*, *Cape Comorin*, and *Mannapaar*, where a quantity of piecegoods is collected, and sent to *Ceylon*. In September and October, 1795, *Ceylon*, and its dependencies, were reduced by the British forces. *T.*

\* About 727,300l. sterling. *T.*

embassadors,

embassadors, who were sent to the court of *Candy*, were formerly obliged to conform to the oriental ceremony, of approaching the throne upon their knees ; but it was made a condition of the treaty of peace, that this servile custom should no more take place, and that they should remain standing in the presence of the king.

The chief, and almost the only, produce of this island, is cinnamon\*. The pearl-fishery likewise,

\* Of the various species of the cinnamon-tree, and the manner of stripping the bark, preparing, and shipping it off, Dr. THUNBERG has given an ample and curious account, in the fourth volume of his Travels. It is grown chiefly in the districts of *Colombo*, *Gale Corle*, *Negombo*, and in the dominions of the king of *Candy*; it used formerly never to be regularly planted, but was always sought for in the woods, by the *choulias*, one of the lowest castes of the Cingalese, whose peculiar occupation was the barking of cinnamon : it is, however, now cultivated by the Dutch Company, who have laid out extensive plantations of it, in the districts of *Colombo* and *Gale Corle*. They have proceeded with greater ardour in this plan, since the last war with the king of *Candy*, on account of the great decrease in the quantity collected since, compared with that usually procured before. Notwithstanding the acquisition of a large extent of territory, at the conclusion of peace, it has been found that, instead of 8000 or 10,000 bales of cinnamon, of 88 lb. each, which was the quantity usually drawn from *Ceylon* before that war, only 6000 or 7000 bales have been furnished. This deficiency has been ascribed to the illwill

likewise, however, yields the Company, in general, a benefit of one hundred thousand of the court of *Candy*, on account of the humiliation to which it was reduced by that war ; and although the king is bound, by the conditions of peace, to deliver all the cinnamon produced in his country to the Company, for five pagodas (an Indian gold coin of ninety stivers, or about 8s. 2d. sterling) per bale of 88 lb. he either neglects to have the cinnamon duly collected, or sends a great part of it, of an inferior quality, or in an adulterated, or spoiled state. The cinnamon which the Company collect, or cultivate themselves, is computed to stand them in nearly the same rate. Besides this precious spice, some coffee and cardemoms are the only articles of the produce of the island, which are exported to Europe ; piece-goods from the factories on the opposite coast, pepper from the coast of *Malabar*, cowries from the *Maldives*, saltpetre from *Bengal*, and some *Surat* goods, help to form, however, the cargoes of the vessels which are dispatched from *Punto Gallo* ; and in 1778, the sales in Europe, of the imports from *Ceylon*, were as follow :

600,000lb. cinnamon, at about f. 6 (11s. sterling) per lb.

4,000lb. cardemoms, at 33 stivers (3s.)

5,000lb. coffee, at 10 —

300,000lb. cowries, at 7½ —

20,000lb. cotton-yarn, and

piecegoods to the amount of f. 200,000 (about 18,180l.)

A considerable quantity of cinnamon is also yearly sent to *Batavia*, for the consumption of the east. The cinnamon found at *Ceylon*, in 1795, was purchased of the captors, by the English East-India Company, for 180,000l. sterling. In the latter end of 1797, the quantity of 13,893 bales, containing 1,238,968 lb. of cinnamon, was brought to England ; and the East-India Company sold 350,000 lb. at their ensuing spring-sale. *T.*

rix dollars,

rixdollars, annually. No pearls used formerly to be fished, but upon the oyster-beds of *Tutocorin*; but they are now likewise got from those on the *Ceylon* side, near *Manaar*, and *Aripo*. The fishery, however, does not take place, for certain, every year; for this depends upon the condition in which the beds are found. When the fishing-season approaches, the oysters are examined by the *Ceylon* council, and if they are found of a proper size, publication is made, of the time when the pearl-fishery is to commence, and the number of boats and men, to be employed in it, are determined upon: the number of divers, is, at present, usually fixed at ninety-six. A certain percentage is allowed, to the governor of *Ceylon*, on what the Company receive from the farming of this fishery\*.

The

\* The advantages which accrued from this source, amounted only to one hundred thousand gilders, not rixdollars, annually; but the Company have been deprived of them entirely, since the year 1771; at that period, the nabob of the Carnatic, attacked and took possession of *Marrua*, near *Tutocorin*, whose prince was in alliance with the Dutch; the nabob immediately laid claim to the pearl-fishery, and the Company thought fit to give up the point, and have abandoned it ever since. The famous VAN IMHOF, in his posthumous elabo-

The trade of the Company in *Bengal*, is intrusted to a director, as they possess only a very small territory there, by permission of

rate memorial respecting the state of India, considers *Marrua*, as an important barrier or frontier-place of *Ceylon*. Many precious stones are found in *Ceylon*, the principal of which are, rubies, sapphires, topazes, and garnets; different kinds of chrystals, and quartz, are sold there under the pompous denominations of diamonds, amethysts, &c. Dr. THUNBERG has given a curious list of all the kinds which he met with at *Ceylon*. The digging of them is farmed out by the government; and though trifling, is one of the objects of revenue of the island. These amounted, in 1779, altogether, to £.611,704, while the charges of the whole establishment were £.1,243,038, which makes the expence of the Company in maintaining *Ceylon*, ultimately amount to £.631,334, or 57,394*l.* sterling, but this is easily borne by the immense profits attached to the exclusive cinnamon-trade, and the other articles brought from this island, as before noticed. In 1755, however, when MOSSEY drew up his statements, *Ceylon* appeared in a very different light; he made the revenues and profits amount to £.1,168,000, and the charges only to £.902,500, by which it appears, that the island was then fully able to maintain itself. Yet there are many causes which may be supposed to contribute to this difference: the failure of the revenue from the pearl-fishery; the augmentation of the territory of the Company by the peace of 1766, and consequent increase of their military force, &c. In 1776—1777, the establishment at *Ceylon*, consisted of, 416 persons in civil, and 33 in ecclesiastical, offices, 54 surgeons and assistants, 315 belonging to the artillery, 615 seamen and marines employed on shore, 2,397 soldiers, and 243 mechanics, in all, 4,073 Europeans, besides 1,225 natives. T.

the

the emperor of *Indostan*, or the Great Mogul. It is the same at *Surat*, where, as in *Bengal*, they have a lodge, or factory, for the security of their goods, and their jurisdiction does not extend far beyond its limits. From *Bengal*, they receive piecegoods, saltpetre, and opium. From *Surat*, piecegoods, various sorts of Indian dresses, &c.

The Company's possessions on the coast of *Malabar*, are under a commandant. The chief produce is pepper, which is esteemed the best of all India \*.

From the west coast of *Sumatra*, are brought, gold, camphor, and pepper †.

### *Bantam*

\* Mr. STAVORINUS enlarges, respecting *Bengal*, in the next book; respecting *Surat*, in the 2d and 3d books of his second voyage; and respecting the coast of *Malabar*, in the 13th and 14th chapters of the 4th book. T.

† Besides *Lampon*, which has been mentioned among the dependencies of *Bantam*, the Dutch have a settlement at *Padang*, on the west coast of *Sumatra*, to which the factories at *Pulo Chinc*, *Priaman*, and *Adgerbadja*, are subordinate. At *Padang*, there is a fort, with a garrison of fifty or sixty men, and the chief of the settlement has the rank of merchant. Some pepper, camphor, and benzoin, are furnished from this coast, but ever since the establishment of the English settlement at *Bencoolen*, in this neighbourhood, the Dutch complain that pepper is procured in very small quantities; they, however, likewise collect and export annually to *Batavia*, about two thousand

*Bantam* is a commandery, from which the Company draw the greatest quantity of pepper.

On the inner, or eastern, coast of *Sumatra*, they have a settlement at *Palembang*, whence they receive pepper and tin \*.

Most

five hundred tials of gold, the quantity never exceeds three thousand tials, nor falls short of two; a tial is twenty-six penny-weights twelve grains; the purchase price is high, being nearly 3*l.* 5*s.* sterling, per ounce. There is a vein of gold which runs close to *Padang*, and, some years ago, it was worked, but not finding returns adequate to the expence, the Company let it to farm, and, in a few years, it fell into such low repute, as to be disposed of at a rent of two Spanish dollars, by public auction. In 1779, the books of *Padang* shewed a balance in favour of the establishment of f.20,902, about 1,900*l.* sterling, the charges being f.53,675, and on the other hand, the profits accruing on the sale of piecegoods, salt, &c. f.74,577: which is sufficient to defray the expence of sending a ship thither annually from *Batavia*, with necessaries for the settlement. *Padang*, and its dependencies, are, at present, in the hands of the English. The whole establishment of the Dutch on the west coast of *Sumatra*, including *Lampon*, was, in 1776--1777, thirty persons in civil employments, five surgeons and assistants, two belonging to the artillery, thirteen marines, 104 soldiers, and twenty-one mechanics, in all, 175 Europeans, besides ninety-seven natives in the service of the Company. T.

\* *Palembang* lies about ten or twelve days' sail from *Batavia*. The dominions of the king of *Palembang* are extensive; they reach as far as the hills of *Lampon* to the southward, and comprehend

Most of the coffee sold by the Company, is brought from their settlement at *Cheribon* in *Java*.

One

prehend the island of *Banca*, which lies opposite to the river of *Palembang*. This island is celebrated throughout Asia, for the same cause, its tinmines, to which England owed its celebrity in Europe, in very ancient times, before its arts and arms had spread its fame around the globe. The tinmines in *Banca*, which were first discovered in 1710 or 1711, have yielded immense quantities of ore, and appear inexhaustible. There are seven chief places where it is dug, which are under the direction of Chinese managers, who provide and pay for the labour of the miners, who are also, in general, of that nation. The tin is delivered by these chiefs, to the king of *Palembang*, for five rixdollars per 125 pounds, and by him to the Dutch for fifteen rixdollars, equal to about 58s. sterling per *cwt.* English. The Company do not, however, always take all that is brought; for in 1770, the government at *Batavia*, resolved, "not to receive more than 25,000 picols, of 125lb. each, from *Palembang* every year, and as 5,000 picols more, had been delivered that year, no more than 20,000 should be accepted in the next, of which due notice should be given to the king." And yet the Dutch endeavour to prevent the tin from being disposed of to any others, and keep vessels continually cruising along the shores, to prevent the smuggling of it; but their vigilance is eluded, and the commerce is largely participated by private adventurers. RAYNAL and others, state the quantity of tin, received by the Dutch Company, at 2,000,000lb.; but from the above, it appears, that they take, at least, 3,000,000lb. But very little of it comes to Europe; in 1778, 700,000lb. were sold in Holland at f.42 per 100lb.; the greatest part goes to the China-market, where it is pre-

One of their most advantageous branches of commerce, is that which they carry on to *Japan*; they send one or two ships thither every year, and are admitted to trade there, exclusively of all other nations, the Chinese alone excepted.

A small island, called *Decima*, in the

ferry to European tin, and the profit upon it, is supposed, by a late intelligent traveller, Sir GEORGE STAUNTON, not to be less, any year, than 150,000*l.* sterling, though, by the Dutch account of their China-trade, which is given a little farther on, this seems to be an extravagant computation. The king is under strict engagements to the Dutch, to allow them an exclusive trade throughout his dominions, and to deliver all the tin, and pepper, produced in them, at *Batavia*, sending them thither in his own ships, and at his own expence. The quantity of pepper brought annually from *Palembang*, is about 2,000,000*lb.* which is purchased at the rate of two shillings per pound. The Company likewise take about 1000 carats of rough diamonds, and a considerable quantity of canes and rattans. Very few goods are given in exchange for these articles, and a large sum in specie is yearly required to balance with the king. In 1779, the profit on the few things disposed of at *Talambang*, amounted only to *f.3,922*, and the charges of the settlement were *f.49,677*, making it stand the Company for one year in *f.45,755*, or about 4,160*l.* sterling. In 1771, they rebuilt their old ruinous fort, in a pentagonal form, and the cost of the new one was computed to be *f.80,546*, about 7,322*l.* sterling. Their establishment here, consisted, in 1776—1777, of 115 Europeans, viz. six in their civil service, one clergyman, two surgeons, sixty-one seamen and marines, twenty-nine soldiers, and sixteen mechanics. *T.*

harbour,

harbour of *Nangasaki*, has been ceded to them ; and the merchandize they import is landed and housed there \*.

This trade is confided to a chief, who is sent out from *Batavia* every two years.

The charges of this establishment, amount to full one hundred thousand gilders every year ; the half of which, is the value of the annual presents to the emperor of *Japan*†.

\* *Decima*, is situated in  $42^{\circ}$  north latitude. The voyage from *Batavia* to *Japan* generally lasts about thirty days. The navigation is very dangerous, and the Dutch have, for the last hundred years, lost one out of every five ships that go thither. For an account of the excessive jealousy and suspicion of the Japanese, and their treatment both of the Dutch and of the Chinese, as well as of numerous other particulars relative to *Japan*, and before little known in Europe, the reader cannot be better referred, than to the ample and curious relations, to be found in the third and fourth volumes of Dr. THUNBERG's travels. T.

† The Company have only about ten or twelve of their servants resident in *Japan*. The charges amounted, in 1779, to £96,356 ; the greatest part whereof consists, as above, of presents to the emperor, and the expences of the journey undertaken yearly to *Yedo*, for the offering of them : on the other hand, the profits arising from the sale of goods were £106,802, leaving a surplus of full £10,000 , or nearly 1,000*l.* sterling ; so that nothing remains to be deducted from the profits on the returns (for which, see the next note) but the expences of the ships sent, and the calculated loss, as before mentioned, of one vessel in five. T.

The principal articles that are shipped to *Japan*, are tortoise-shells, Baros camphor from *Sumatra* and *Borneo*, Dutch woollens, and sugar ; in return for which, we receive *Japan* camphor, copper, china, and lacquered ware \*.

The trade to *China*, generally employs four ships every year ; these are dispatched directly from Holland, and only touch at

\* The two ships which go yearly to *Japan*, usually take the value of £.500,000, about 45,450*lb.* in sugar, sapanwood, elephants' teeth, tortoise-shell, camphor, tin, lead, quicksilver, chintzes, cottons, Dutch woollens, vermillion, wax, cloves, nutmegs, pepper, china-root, and some silver in ducatoons. Their returns consist, for the greatest part, in Japan copper, which is in small bars, of about six inches long, and about one-third of a pound in weight ; of these they receive eight or nine thousand boxes, each containing 12*5lb.* which they pay at the rate of £.31 per box, and dispose of it in *Bengal*, at *Surat*, and on the coasts of *Coromandel* and *Malabar*, for £.90*s.* and £.91 : they likewise take about 50,000*lb.* Japan camphor, two-fifths of which is retailed in India, and the rest comes to Europe ; and also a trifling amount in soy, china, lacquered ware, and large silk nightgowns. The private trade of the Dutch officers and ships' crews to *Japan*, is also very considerable, as well as profitable ; they carry out, camphor, china-root, saffron, Venice treacle, Spanish liquorice, ratans, spectacles, looking-glasses, watches, manufactured glass, and unicorns' horns (the horn of the *monodus monoceros*), and receive in return, soy, silks, silk nightgowns, china, lacquered ware, fans, and fine rice. T.

*Batavia*, in going out, in order to take in a cargo of Banca tin, which is disposed of to much advantage in *China*: but when they return to Europe, they only anchor at *North Island*, not far from the straits of *Sunda*, to take in water, without touching at *Batavia*. The time when they set sail from *Batavia* for *China*, is generally about the beginning of July \*.

The

\* The Dutch factory at *Canton*, is not, like all their other settlements, and places of trade, in India, subordinate to the government at *Batavia*, but has, for upwards of forty years, been under the management of a special committee of directors in Holland; yet every thing relative it, is communicated to, and transacted in concert with, the government at *Batavia*. The cargoes of the four or five ships, which the Dutch send annually to *China*, amount in value to £2,400,000; or £2,500,000, about 225,000*l.* sterling, one half of which consists in silver, either in bars, or Spanish dollars, and the other half in tin, lead, pepper, cloves, and nutmegs, upon which articles a profit of, at least, £660,000, about 60,000*l.* sterling, is made. For the above capital, the Company's agents purchase between four and five millions pounds of tea, of all sorts, and a quantity of silks, nankeens, china, turmeric, &c. We subjoin a list of the quantities of tea, exported in Dutch ships from *China*, for the twenty years between 1776 and 1795:

Years.	Ships.	<i>lbs.</i> tea.
1776 . . .	5 . . .	4,923,700.
1777 . . .	4 . . .	4,856,500.

The Company used formerly to trade to *Cochinchina, Tonquin, Siam, Pegu, Aracan, Perſia, and Mocha*; but they have now abandoned all commerce with these places. Their connections are, at present, limited to thoſe I have before ſhortly noticed; and among these, there are feveral, which, in my opinion, are more prejudicial than advantageous to the Company; especially thoſe in the west of India; which muſt be aſcribed to a change of times, and of circumſtances.

Years.	Ships.	Ibs. tea.
1778 . . .	4 . . .	4,695,700.
1779 . . .	4 . . .	4,553,100.
1780 . . .	4 . . .	4,687,800.
1781 . . .	4 . . .	4,957,600.
1782		
1783	none, on account of the war.	
1784		
1785 . . .	4 . . .	5,334,000.
1786 . . .	4 . . .	4,458,800.
1787 . . .	5 . . .	5,943,200.
1788 . . .	5 . . .	5,794,900.
1789 . . .	4 . . .	4,179,600.
1790 . . .	5 . . .	5,106,900.
1791 . . .	3 . . .	1,328,500.
1792 . . .	2 . . .	2,051,330.
1793 . . .	3 . . .	2,938,530.
1794 . . .	2 . . .	2,417,200.
1795 . . .	4 . . .	4,096,800. T.

When

When the Company established their commerce in those parts, their rivals were very inconsiderable; the English were not a match for them, and the Indian princes traded rather with the Dutch, than with their neighbours. But this is now entirely altered.

The English, who did not then come into any consideration, are now as strong, and perhaps stronger, in the west of India, than the Dutch Company are in the east. They have prescribed laws to the emperor of Indostan, and are, in consequence, masters of the whole trade of his dominions, especially at *Surat* and in *Bengal*, where the Company used to make important profits, both by the goods which they imported, and those which they exported.

If the sea-risk, the ships' charges, and the interest of the money employed, were accurately computed, their present gains, would, perhaps, be found to be extremely trifling.

Not only the English, but almost all the naval powers of Europe, have at present ships trading to the Indies, and establish-

ments

ments of more or less consequence, in the western parts.

The trade in piecegoods, which in former times, produced such considerable benefit to the Company, is now almost entirely in the hands of the English; at least they are very detrimental to the portion of it that still remains with us, by their competition for purchases.

I shall not say any thing of the honesty and fidelity of the Company's chiefs at their out-factories: that is out of the line I propose following: when I was in *Bengal*, I had an opportunity of observing some instances, not very consonant with the above virtues; and it is not many years ago, that the Company had proofs of the like, in the government of the *Coromandel* coast.

On the other hand, the number of officers, and their appointments, remain the same; and a numerous body of useless placemen, and too many military, are maintained by the Company.

If the trade in *Bengal*, at *Surat*, and on the coast of *Coromandel*, were reduced to the same regulations, as that to *China* and

*Japan*;

*Japan*; and if, instead of expensive fortifications, trading-houses, or factories, were only retained, the profits, which are actually made, would remain, and the present charges, would be amazingly diminished. It cannot, in my opinion, be of any real advantage to the Company, that they pretend to appear as a sovereign state, where they have not an exclusive trade, and where they cannot interdict the trade of every other nation. At *Ceylon*, *Java*, and the other islands in the eastern parts, where they have the territorial property, and the sovereign power, it is necessary both to display, and to maintain, their dominion; for there they can, and justly, dispute the right of all others, whether authorized traders or interlopers; but it is money thrown away, to pretend to make a shew of sovereignty, at the before-mentioned places, for it augments neither their commerce, nor their resources.

The goods which they carry thither, and which cannot be furnished by any other nation, the Dutch being the sole dealers in them, such as the finer spices, and *Japan* copper, are of a nature, which renders them indif-

indispensable in the west of India. Their ships loaden with these articles, would be, with pleasure, successively received, and they would speedily and gladly be bartered for cargoes of other commodities.

Moreover, there would be the advantage, that the conductors, having to superintend a less extensive concern, would the better be enabled to discover, and reform, all errors and abuses : whereas the extent of the object under their controul, affords, at present, innumerable openings for misconduct and mistakes, which undermine the whole superstructure.

The English have not only been very prejudicial to the trade of the Company in the west of India, but have also endeavoured, if not to supplant them in the entire possession of *Ceylon*, at least to participate in the advantages of that rich island.

At the time of the last war in *Ceylon*, when the Company had blocked up all the harbours, with their ships, and the emperor was nearly reduced to be besieged in his capital, the English sent an ambassador from *Madras* to the emperor, with an offer of assistance to expel the Dutch from his dominions,

minions, for which purpose they would provide a large number of ships. But their own pertinacity was the reason that the alliance was not formed in time; for the ambassador would not comply with the oriental custom of address, which is especially prevalent in *Ceylon*, and to which the Dutch were used to conform; that is, he refused to prostrate himself upon the ground, or fall upon his knees, when he was first introduced into the presence of the emperor. Several weeks thus elapsed before he had an audience; and, in the mean time, matters had taken a still more decided aspect in our favour, so that, the clandestine attempts of our secret enemies, were, in this instance, frustrated.

I was exceedingly surprized when I saw at *Batavia*, that, although the trade in piece-goods, and in opium, was prohibited to private individuals of our own nation, the English were not only allowed to bring whole cargoes to *Batavia*; and to dispose of them there, but were facilitated in every respect, in the disposal. These indulgences were not confined to the above, but were extended to all sorts of commodities, both

Indian and European, to the great detriment of our own ships' officers and crews, who were not allowed to import their wares ; and they who did bring some privileged goods, were forced to sell them at a loss, on account of the glut occasioned by the quantities imported by the English. The exportation of sugar too, was likewise prohibited to our own people, but the English were furnished with as much as they asked for, out of the Company's warehouses. Their ships, upon paying for the work done, were allowed to be repaired by the Company's servants at the island *Onrust*. In August, 1769, I saw eight English ships, lying at that island, and three more in the roads of *Batavia*. In the following year, however, the government seemed, in some measure, to have a different opinion ; for they then restricted the English to the taking in of water and wood ; which every one hoped might be of long continuance.

The Company have another object of expence, since the year 1742, which did not perhaps then appear in so detrimental a light, as at present. I mean the premiums which are given to the ships' crews  
returning

returning home, and which were allowed as an indemnification for the articles of trade, which, before that time, they were permitted to bring home with them from India; but this was so much abused, that the Company's ships were crammed with the private property of the crews, in so far, that now and then, a ship was lost in consequence of being too deeply loaden.

In how far, by putting a stop to this private trade, such accidents have, in reality, been prevented, may be best seen, by comparing the number of the ships lost, for thirty years, before the year 1742, with those lost since. For my own part, I believe, that very little difference would be found. It is of course, that the vessels, lost in Table Bay, or other roads, which cannot be attributed to overloading, must not be taken into the account. The Company have already expended the sum of eighteen millions of gilders, in these premiums, as will appear from the rough calculation subjoined, in which I have taken rather too little than too much.

The premiums for every ship returning home (estimating the crews, one with an-

other, at one hundred and twenty hands, for each ship) amount to full £18,000, as follows:

1 captain, receives for premium £2,000	
1 captain's mate . . . . .	500
1 second mate . . . . .	400
1 surgeon . . . . .	400
2 other mates, £300 each . . . . .	600
1 chaplain . . . . .	300
20 under-officers, one with another, £200 each . . . . .	4,000
24 seamen, earning upwards of £10 monthly wages, £150 each . . . . .	3,600
66 ditto, and boys, under £10 £100 each . . . . .	6,600

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117 men

3 supposed to have died on the other side of the *Cape of Good Hope*, who receive nothing.

120 men

---

So that every ship's crew receive for premiums . . . . £18,400

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Which,

Which, however, in order to make a round sum, I only take at . . . . f.18,000

And computing that since the year 1742, twenty-five ships have annually returned from India, considering one year with another, the whole amount in premiums, for one year, is . . . . f.450,000

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Since the navigation has been put upon this footing, that is, from 1742 to 1771, twenty-nine years have elapsed; so that during that period, the Company have paid premiums to the amount of . f.13,050,000

The interest of this capital for twenty-seven years, at three per cent per annum, which is annually augmented by f.13,500, amounts to \* . 5,103,000

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So

\* Instead of simple interest, at three per cent per annum, for twenty-seven years, we should take compound interest,

So that the Company have lost  
a sum, for which they have  
no adequate benefit, of f.18,153,000

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May not the decay of *Batavia*, whose chief support is the free trade of its inhabitants, be, in some measure, likewise ascribed to this cause? People well worthy of credit, who have lived for forty years, and more, at *Batavia*, have assured me, that there is an inconceivable difference between the actual state of the city, with respect to trade, and its flourishing situation, before the year 1740. Free inhabitants, who had never been in the service of the Company, used then to return to Europe loaden with riches, very few instances of which occur at present. Here in Holland, we may, in consequence, plainly perceive, that there is little chance of making money at present, at *Batavia*, by private trade, and it is well known, that it grows worse from day to day.

at the same rate, for twenty-nine years, which would amount to f.7,316,500, and the whole sum lost to the Company, during that period, by this regulation, would be f.20,366,500, or about 1,851,500l. T.

It is true, that the Company at home, are unable to reform all the abuses, which have crept in, from time to time, in such an extent of territory, as they possess in the Indies; but they are too well acquainted with the actual state of *Batavia*; and the prosperity, or decay of that city, which is the center, and, as it were, the pivot of all their possessions, is of too great and real importance to their interests, than that they ought not to endeavour to raise it out of that languid state, into which it is progressively falling.

Another thing, which is a great drawback upon the prosperity of *Batavia*, is the unhealthiness which has been perceived there, for several years back. The most probable cause hereof, may be sought, in the great increase of the mudbanks, along the seacoast; the water only just covers them; or they are flooded by the tide, which, when it recedes, leaves a thick slime behind it, together with a great deal of animal matter, thrown up by the sea, various kinds of blubber, and other marine productions, which immediately putrify, by the burning heat, and contaminate the air,

uniting with the noxious exhalations of the swamps and morasses near the town. The opinion, that the unhealthiness of the place may be chiefly attributed to this cause, seems to be corroborated by the circumstance, that the ravages of sickness and death, are much less in the upper parts of the city, which lie the farthest from the sea, than in and near the castle, which is close to the mudbanks, and swamps. The mud thus thrown up, already reaches, on the east side of the river, more than two thousand feet out from the dry ground.

I have already said something of the province of *Jaccatra*; namely, that it is a possession of the Company, subdued by their arms, whose natives are their immediate subjects, governed by the council of India, and more particularly under the eye of the governor general.

A person is appointed by the governor, under the title of commissary of inland affairs, who represents the sovereign, in the interior of the country.

He adjusts all differences which arise between the native grandees, with the pre-knowledge of the governor general, and exacts all

all penalties and fines which are laid upon them, the greatest part of the profits by which, accrue to him. He is feared and respected, like a prince, in the interior parts, as the happiness of every individual, is almost entirely in his power.

The regents, who are his coadjutors in the administration of the land, are taken from among the natives. The first in rank, are the *adapatis*, to whom the government of a large district is entrusted. Then follow the *tommagongs*, who are, however, much lower in rank, having the direction over a proportionate smaller extent of country ; although each of them stands alone in his local jurisdiction. These have *inghebées* under them, who are as much as lieutenants, and before whom disputes of little importance, between the inhabitants of their districts, are settled ; yet the parties may appeal to the commissary.

It is only when very important matters occur, in which the Company have a particular interest, that they are brought to the cognizance of the government at *Batavia*, and settled by them ; but this does not often happen.

The commissary, who resides without the city, has a guard of natives every night at his house, and twenty, or twenty-four armed attendants, who are Javanese, and stand ready to execute his commands ; all being in the pay of the Company.

The chief productions yielded by this province, are sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton-yarn. The revenues which the Company draw from it, amount annually to full one million of gilders.

The original letters, which are written by the council of India, to the Indian princes, are composed in the Dutch language, and signed by the governor general, and by the secretary, in the name of the government ; but translations are always added, in the Malay, Javanese, or whatever other language be that of the prince, to whom the letter is addressed. For this purpose, there are several translators at *Batavia*, who are well paid, and have the rank of merchants.

The letters, which are sent by the Indian princes, to the government, are written upon

upon gold, or silver, flowered paper \*, and are brought to the council with much ceremony.

The letter which the emperor of Candy

\* In the eastern parts of India, paper is prepared from the bark of trees ; at Ceylon, and on the adjacent continent, the leaves of the borassus palm-tree (*borassus flabelliformis*), and sometimes of the talpat-tree (*lichala spinosa*), are used instead of paper. The leaves of both these palm-trees, lie in folds, like a fan, and the slips stand in need of no further preparation, than merely to be separated, and cut smooth with a knife. Their mode of writing upon them, consists in engraving the letters with a fine pointed steel : and in order that the characters may be the better seen and read, they rub them over with charcoal, or some other black substance. The iron point made use of for a pen, is either set in a brass handle, and carried about in a wooden case, of about six inches in length, or else it is formed entirely of iron ; and together with the blade of a knife, designed for the purpose of cutting the leaves, and making them smooth, set in a knife-handle, common to them both, and into which it shuts up. When a single slip is not sufficient, several are bound together, by means of a hole made at one end, and a thread on which they are strung. If a book be to be made, they look out principally for broad and handsome slips of talpat-leaves, upon which they engrave the characters very elegantly, and accurately, with the addition of various figures, by way of ornament. All the slips have then two holes made in them, and are strung upon a silken cord, and covered with two thin lacquered boards. By means of the cords, the leaves are held even together, and by being drawn out when they are wanted to be used, they may be separated from each other at pleasure. T.

fent to the government at *Batavia*, after the conclusion of peace, containing the full powers of his embassadors to negociate concerning certain matters, which could not be adjusted at *Ceylon*, was written upon a leaf of beaten gold, in the shape of a co-coa-leaf ; the letters were engraved upon it, with a steel pen, in a most curious manner. This leaf was rolled up, and inserted in a cylindrical case of gold, which was wound all round with a row of pearls, strung upon gold thread. This case was in a box of massy gold, and this again in one of silver, which was sealed with the emperor's great seal, impressed in red wax. The silver box was inclosed in one of ivory, which was put in a bag of rich cloth of gold ; and finally, a bag of fine white linen, sealed up, with the emperor's lesser signet, encircled the whole.

When these embassadors had their audience of the council of India, they were received with extraordinary honour ; all the members of the assembly standing up, both when they came in, and when they went out, though without uncovering their heads. When the embassadors left *Batavia*, they were

were each presented with a gold chain, by the council.

All goods, which are carried into, or out of *Batavia*, are subject to duties, which are levied at the bar, at the entrance of the city. These, as well as the other taxes and imposts, are annually farmed out, generally to Chinese. The whole of them amount together, upon an average, to 32,000 rix-dollars, or f.76,800 per month, making f.921,600 per annum \*.

Of the several islands which lie before *Batavia* †, there are no more than four, which are made any use of, by the Company, and of these, that of *Onrust* is the principal. This island lies about three leagues N.W. from *Batavia*; it is nearly round; it rises six or eight feet above the surface of the water, and is of small extent, being about

\* About 83,800*l.* sterling. T.

† They are, in all, fifteen in number, and have the following names given to them: *Onrust*, *de Kuiper*, *Purmerend*, *Engels Onrust*, *Rotterdam*, *Schiedam*, *Middleburgh*, *Amsterdam*, *Horn*, *Harlem*, *Edam*, *Enhuizen*, *Alkmaar*, *Leyden*, and *Vader Smit*. The two first are the innermost, and are fronting, and within sight of the city. T.

four thousand eight hundred feet in circumference. In the center of the island, and within a fort, consisting of four bastions, and three curtains, stand the warehouses and other buildings. On these fortifications, and on three small outworks, which are constructed at the water's edge, the walls of all which are whitened with lime, are mounted sixteen pieces of cannon, of various sizes\*. ¶

In the year 1730, under the government of the governor general DURVEN, a small church, with a steeple, was erected here; where service is performed on Sundays by a

\* "The fortified island of *Onrust*," says Captain PARISH, "is well situated to command the channel that affords the principal passage into the road. The work upon that island was of a pentagonal form; its bastions were small and low, not more than twelve feet the highest; and not always connected by curtains. A few batteries were lately constructed on the outside of this work, that bore towards the sea. On these, and on the bastions, about forty guns were mounted, in different directions. South of this, was another island" (this must be that called *de Kuiper*), "at the distance of a few hundred yards, on which two batteries, mounting together twelve guns, had been lately erected." This account dates in 1793, and proves that the Dutch have become sensible of what is alleged in this work, page 253, that the fortifications at the mouth of the river, are insufficient to protect the road. T.

clergyman, who comes hither from *Batavia*, for that purpose, every week.

The Company have here ten or twelve large warehouses, which are almost always quite full of goods ; pepper, japan copper, saltpetre, tin, caliatour-wood, sapan-wood, &c. They are under the direction of two administrators, who, as we have before mentioned, have very lucrative places.

On the north side of the island, stand two sawmills ; and on the south side, there is a long pier-head, on which are three large wooden cranes, erected for the purpose of fixing masts in ships, or unstepping them. Three ships can lie here, behind each other, alongside of the pier, in deep water, to be repaired, or to receive or discharge their cargoes. There is another pier, a little more to the westward, called the *Japan* pier, where one more ship can lie, to load or unload.

There is twenty, and more, feet water against the piers, and it rises and falls, about five feet, once in four-and-twenty hours. All the Company's ships that require it, are hove down at the wharfs along the piers, and receive

receive every necessary reparation with ease and dispatch \*.

The government of the island, and the direction over the repairs of ships which take place here, is intrusted to a master-carpenter, who has the management of every thing, except what relates to the departments of the administrators of the warehouses. His office is esteemed a very profitable one, and he has the rank of senior merchant. Though the island is but small, the number of people dwelling upon it, is supposed to be near three thousand, among whom there are three hundred European workmen.

About sixteen hundred feet from *Onrust*, is the island *de Kuiper*, or *Cooper's Isle*, which is one-third less in size than the former. The Company have several warehouses upon it, in which coffee is chiefly laid up. There are two pier-heads, where vessels may load and discharge, at its south side. There

\* " It would be injustice," says Captain Cook, " to the officers and workmen of this yard, not to declare, that, in my opinion, there is not a marineyard in the world, where a ship can be laid down, with more convenience, safety, and dispatch, nor repaired with more diligence and skill." T.

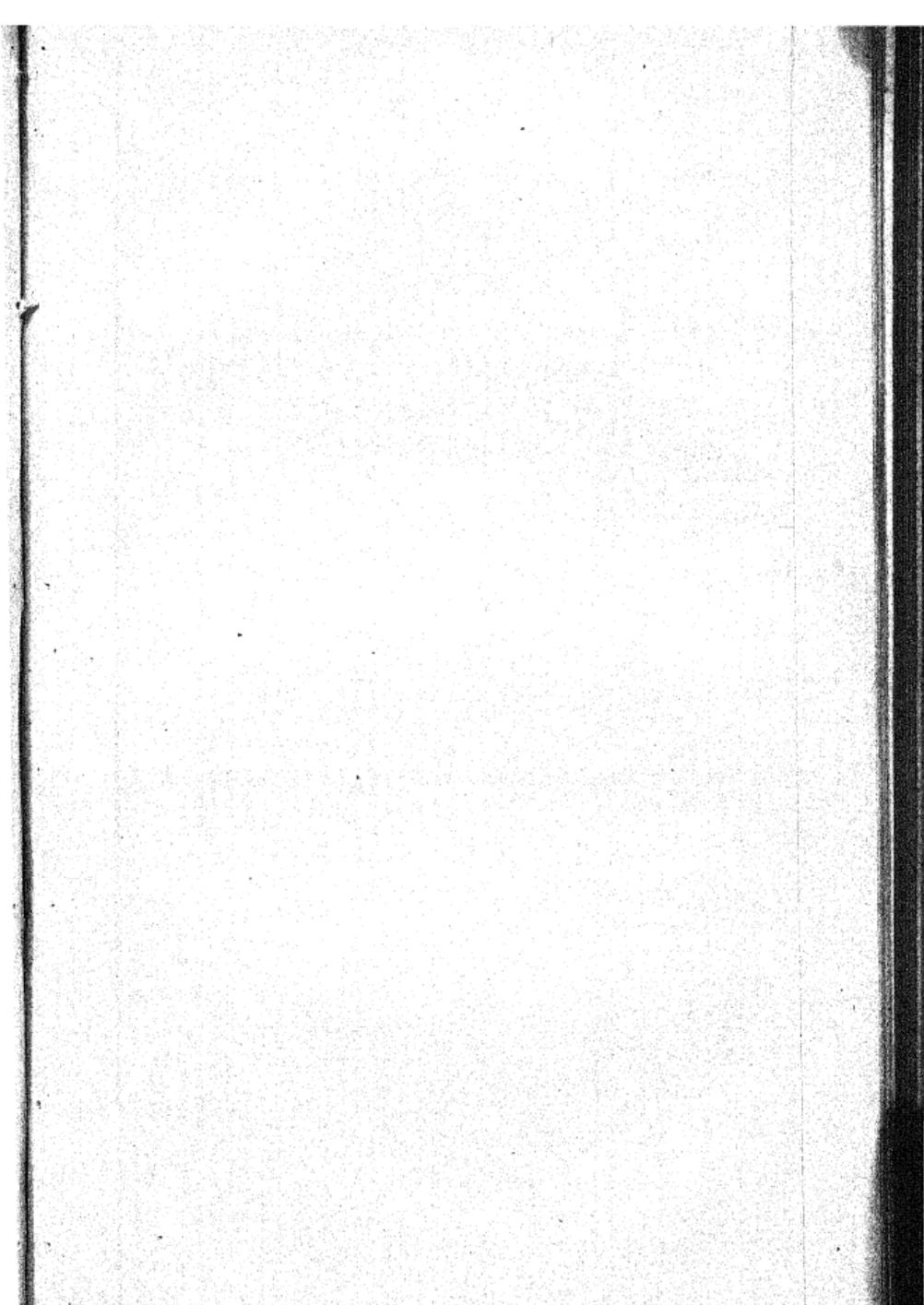
are several large tamarind-trees interspersed over the island, which afford an agreeable shade. The workmen who are employed here in the daytime, are fetched away at night to *Onrust*, and only two men remain behind, as a watch, together with a number of dogs, who are remarkably fierce, so that no one dares to set his foot on the island at night.

To the eastward of *Onrust*, and at twice the distance of *Cooper's Isle*, is the island *Purmerend*, which is half as large again as *Onrust*. It is planted with shady trees ; and in the center is a building, which serves for a hospital, or lazaretto, for persons afflicted with the leprosy, or other incurable diseases, who are sent thither from *Batavia*. It is supported by the alms of both Europeans and Javanese, but the latter contribute the largest share.

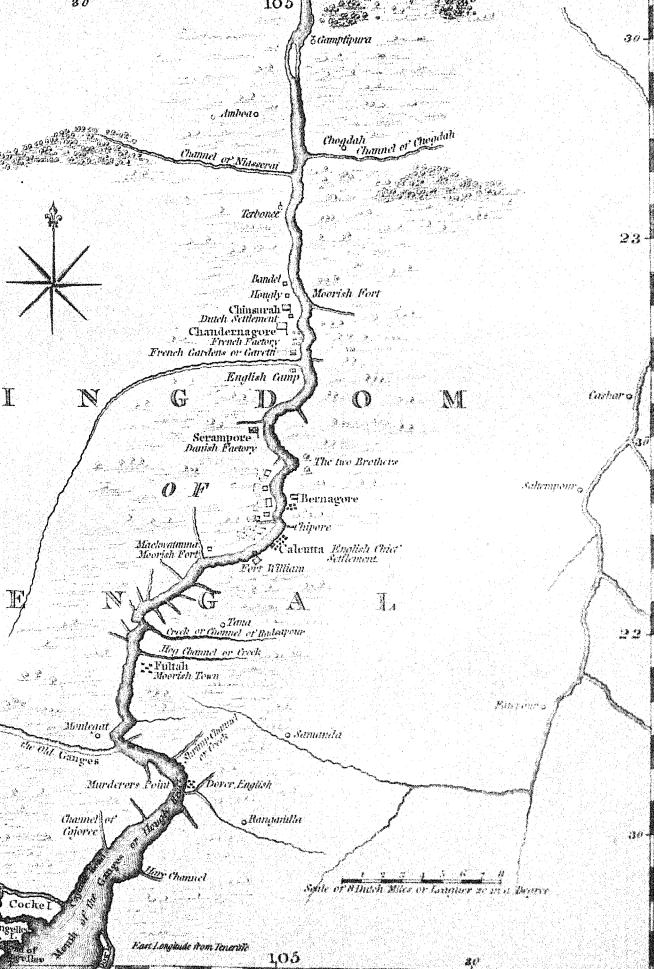
The island of *Edam* lies about three leagues N.N.E. from *Batavia*. It is about half an hour's walk in circumference. It is very woody, and has abundance of large and ancient trees. Among them is one, the trunk of which is so large, that twenty men, with their arms extended, are not enough to encompass it ; its outward branches shoot

downwards, and taking root, as soon as they reach the earth, grow up again into trees ; I saw some of them that were already two feet thick ; it is esteemed holy by the Javanese, and is much venerated by them \*. The Company have some warehouses on this island, for salt ; but the chief use they make of it, is as a place of exile for criminals, who are employed in making of cordage ; and over whom a ship's captain is placed as commandant.

\* This is the banian-tree, *ficus indica*, or Indian fig-tree. T.



*M A P*  
of the  
WESTERN ARM  
of the  
G A N G E S  
or H e u g y River.



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BOOK III.

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## OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING BENGAL.

## CHAPTER I.

*Situation and Extent of BENGAL.—Seasons.—Weather.—Observations respecting the Degrees of Heat.—Monsoons.—Nature of the Country.—Productions.—Soil.—Trees.—Uses of the Cocoanut-tree.—Fruit-trees.—Vegetables:—Tanks.—The River GANGES.—Channels communicating with it.—Sandbanks at the Entrance of HOUGLY River.—Currents.—Rise and Fall of the River.—The Water of it muddy.—How clarified for drinking.—Reputed Sanctity of the GANGES.—Pilgrimages to it from all Parts of India.*

THE kingdom of *Bengal*, which is the most eastern province of the empire of *Indostan*, is bounded, on the southwest, by the kingdom of *Orixa*, on the west, by the province of *Malva*, on the north, by *Mongheir*, and *Bahar*, on the east and southeast, by the kingdom of *Aracan*, and on the south, by

the deep gulph, which is called the Bay of *Bengal*. It is computed to be full ninety leagues in length, from the sea, to *Rajamahel*, and nearly as much in breadth.

It lies between the twenty-first and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude, and thus between the same parallels as the *Canary* islands. Its medium longitude is  $105^{\circ}$  east from *Teneriffe*, the sun being on the meridian almost five hours and a half sooner than at *Amsterdam*.

The year is divided into two seafons, which are called the warm and the cold seafons.

The cold season commences in the month of November, and lasts till the beginning of February. Raw northerly winds are then very prevalent, which bring with them a degree of cold, so that sometimes, in the morning, before funrise, thick clothes are very comfortable. It is then likewise frequently very foggy, but the mist is dissipated about eight or nine o'clock, when the sun begins to be powerful. For the remainder of the day, the sky is perfectly fine and clear, so that no clouds whatever appear in the air, for many days together.

The beginning of this season, is the time for collecting the best fruits of the field, and the land appears reanimated, in proportion as the burning heat diminishes.

In the beginning or middle of February, when the sun begins to approach the line, the heat likewise augments from day to day. The winds, which, for several preceding months, had blown from the north, begin to shift, become variable, and run round to the south and southwest, whence they continue to blow till September or October. The sky begins to become cloudy, and the weather is, at sunset, showery and stormy, frequently bursting out in violent squalls, accompanied by heavy showers of rain, thunder, and lightning.

I have seen hailstones, and pieces of fleet, which fell in *Bengal*, in the month of February, and were as large as a pigeon's egg.

The rainy season commences in May, and continues to the latter end of August. The heat is, at that time, insupportable.

As soon as the sun has again passed the line, the heat begins to decrease, till, in the month of October, it is tolerably moderate.

I observed the degrees of heat, nearly every day, by a thermometer of Fahrenheit, from the beginning of October, till the beginning of April. The thermometer was hung in the open air, against a wall, facing the north, and there were no buildings opposite, by which the rays of the sun could be reflected. The greatest degree of heat, was generally about two o'clock, or half past, in the afternoon, and the least, about an hour before sunrise, in the morning.

In October, the greatest heat, in the afternoon, was  $94^{\circ}$ , with a northerly wind, and clear sky; the least heat, in the same month, in the afternoon, was  $85^{\circ}$ , wind and weather as before; the lowest degree, before sunrise, with a northerly wind, was  $70^{\circ}$ .

In November, the highest, in the afternoon,  $89^{\circ}$ , wind northeast, a clear sky; the lowest, in the afternoon,  $81^{\circ}$ , wind north, clear weather; and the lowest, before sunrise,  $60^{\circ}$ , wind north, foggy weather.

In December, the highest, in the afternoon,  $88\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , wind east, a clear sky; the lowest, in the afternoon,  $76^{\circ}$ , wind north, clear sky; and the lowest, before sunrise,  $52^{\circ}$ , wind north, clear weather.

In January, the highest, in the afternoon,  $85^{\circ}$ , wind southwest, clear sky; the lowest, in the afternoon,  $74^{\circ}$ , wind north, clear sky; and the lowest, before sunrise,  $63^{\circ}$ , wind northeast, clear weather.

In February, the highest in the afternoon,  $92^{\circ}$ , wind south, clear sky; the lowest, in the afternoon,  $76^{\circ}$ , wind west, cloudy; and the lowest, before sunrise,  $68^{\circ}$ , wind south, clear weather.

In March, the highest, in the afternoon,  $104^{\circ}$ , wind south, clear sky; the lowest, in the afternoon,  $93^{\circ}$ , calm, and cloudy; and the lowest, before sunrise,  $72^{\circ}$ , wind south, clear weather.

On the 3d of April, when we sailed down the *Ganges*, the thermometer stood, at three o'clock in the afternoon, at  $101^{\circ}$ . I then caused it to be let down into the river, five or six feet under the surface of the water, and drawing it suddenly up again, I found that the mercury had fallen to  $86^{\circ}$ . Upon hanging it up in its place, it fell, two minutes afterwards, to  $83^{\circ}$ , but it rose again, by degrees, in the space of seven minutes, to  $98^{\circ}$ . Some observations were communicated to me, which were made in the

month of May, 1769, by which it appears, that the mercury then rose as high as  $110^{\circ}$ ; and a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was at *Patna*, in that month, informed me, that there it had even risen to the top of the tube.

The winds generally blow here, throughout the year, either direct north, or direct south; part of the year from the one point, and the remaining part from the opposite point. The same wind which prevails at land, blows likewise at sea, along the coast of *Coromandel*, and the Bay of *Bengal*.

When the monsoons break up, that is, when the wind varies from the north to the south, or from the south to the north, the change is often accompanied by violent squalls, and whirlwinds. When one of these rages remarkably fierce, it receives the denomination of the *elephant*; and it is scarcely possible for a ship, when overtaken by one of these tornadoes, to brave its fury.

In the year 1754, in the month of October, five of our Company's ships, which were at anchor in *Fultab* roads, were forced on shore, and bulged, by this dreadful hurricane; a sixth, which was equally driven on

on shore, was got off again with difficulty. The change of the monsoons, however, sometimes takes place, without any of these storms arising from it.

*Bengal* is a low and flat country, and very fertile, in which it excels every other country of Asia. It provides many of them with rice, and other provisions \* ; and furnishes various important articles of commerce, cottons, silk, saltpetre, opium, &c. which are exported both to other parts of the east, and to Europe.

Besides rice, which is the bread of the natives, both here, and throughout the rest of India, *Bengal* produces also very good wheat, which used formerly even to be sent to *Batavia*; but this is now prohibited, in order to favour, as much as possible, the corn-trade of the *Cape of Good Hope*.

The soil is rich and loamy, and is easily cultivated. No manure is ever used, although the ground be sown every year; for

\* *Bengal* furnishes provisions for most of the neighbouring countries; it provides the inhabitants of the mountains of *Cashmere*, and of the elevated plains of *Tibet*, with both rice and wheat, in return for their shawls, gold, and musk. The emperor AURENGZEEB emphatically styled it, the *Paradise of Nations*. T.

the heavy rains and inundations fatten the land. Bad harvests occur very seldom. Besides the extensive forests, and smaller groves, which are met with at intervals, the country abounds in single trees, scattered over the face of it. None of the sorts which flourish in Holland, are seen here.

There is one kind, which deserves particular notice. It is the same, which I have already mentioned, as growing on the island *Edam*, before *Batavia* (the banian, or Indian fig-tree), the branches of which tend downwards, and taking root, shoot up again into trees. The Bengalese are, equally with the Javanese, impressed with the idea of the sanctity of these trees.

Various kinds of fruit-trees flourish here, among which the cocoanut-palm deserves the first place; not so much, because it is produced in great abundance, as on account of its universal utility; for there is no tree in India, and probably none in the world, that contributes so much to supply the wants of man, as the cocoanut-tree.

It is propagated from a ripe nut, and in a few years, erects its straight and lofty stem, above the other trees of the grove. When full

full grown, it is generally fourteen or fifteen inches thick, all the way up. It grows to the height of fifty feet, and higher, without sending forth any branches, than at the top, where it expands into a leafy crown, consisting of tender branches, or shoots, which have nothing ligneous in them, and to which the thick leaves are attached, in pairs; these are about two feet long, and three inches broad, they gradually grow smaller towards the extremities of the branches, which end in a pointed leaf.

The nuts are produced upon the tender branches, close to the stem, and grow in bunches of five or six.

When the fruit is green, it is filled with a pleasant, sweetish liquor, which is very cool, and refreshing, and is much drank in the Indies, both by the natives, and by Europeans. When it begins to be riper, the juice thickens, and adheres to the shell in a kind of creamy pulp, which is very refreshing as well as nutritive, and is called *liplap*. When the nut is quite ripe, the inside becomes a hard and white kernel, and, in this state, it is often brought to Europe.

When this white kernel is boiled and pressed,

pressed, it affords an oil, which is used instead of butter by the Indians, wherever the cocoanut is produced, throughout the east. It has much resemblance to oil of almonds; but when it has stood for a few weeks, it loses its pleasantness, and becomes rank; it then, however, serves for grease, or to burn, or for other necessary uses.

The hard shell is made into drinking-vessels, and used for a variety of domestic purposes.

The fibrous integument that surrounds the shell, is used, instead of hemp, for the manufacture of cordage, which is called *coir*, and is brought, in considerable quantities, from *Ceylon*, and the coast of *Malabar*, to *Batavia*. Cables are even made of it, of twenty, and more, inches thick, which are found to be as good, and, in some cases, better, than European ones of hemp. By their lightness, they float upon the water, and by their elasticity, they are capable of great extension and contraction \*.

The

\* Captain Tho. Forrest gives his testimony to the excellence of the *coir* for cables; " being elastic, it gives so much play to a ship that rides hard at anchor, that, with a cable

The leaves are used by the natives for roofing their houses, or huts, in the room of straw, or tiles. They are likewise used to write, or rather to engrave, upon, with an iron pin.

The wood of the stem, is used for fire-wood, and cannot be employed in any other way, on account of its brittleness.

The other fruit-trees, are mangos, guavas, mulberry-trees, lime-trees, and a few orange-trees. The *pisang*, or banana, is also produced here, but not in large quantities. Likewise the *suri*-tree, which affords, by incision in the stem, a clear and sweet juice, which is collected in pots, and forms an agreeable liquor, of an intoxicating quality ; in a few days, however, it spoils, and turns sour ; it is then used as vinegar.

Many kinds of vegetables, which are natives of other climates, are cultivated in gardens here, peas, beans, salad, purlane,

" cable of one hundred and twenty fathoms, the ships retire  
 " or give way, sometimes half their length, when opposed to a  
 " heavy sea, and instantly shoot a head again ; the coir-cable,  
 " after being finedrawn, recovering its size and spring.  
 " Hempen cables are strong and stubborn, and ships often  
 " founder that ride by them, because nothing stretches or  
 " gives way ; the coir yields and recovers." T.

spinage,

spinage, all sorts of cabbages, radishes, asparagus, and others ; but they are only to be had, during the colder season, and require great attention and care in the rearing of them ; they must be watered twice a day, or they would dry up, and come to nothing. In the warm season, nothing of the kind is seen, except some spinage and cucumbers.

Throughout the land, where it is inhabited, numerous reservoirs, of an oblong square shape, but of various sizes, are dug in the earth ; they are frequently more than an acre in extent ; they are called *tanks*. They are filled with water in the rainy season, and afford the inhabitants, during the following dry months, a provision of water, of a better quality and appearance, than that of the *Ganges*, which is always thick and muddy.

There is a sort of fish, which is found in these tanks, which, in taste, has much analogy with our carp.

The river *Ganges* runs through the middle of Bengal. It derives its source, it is said, from the mountains of *Thibet* ; but a French ecclesiastic of *Chandernagore*, who had been a missionary for several years in

*Thibet*,

*Tibet*, assured me, that the sources of the *Ganges*, are not to be found in that country, as he had taken the greatest pains to discover them ; the inhabitants too, informed him, that they were situated much farther to the north\*. The river runs in a south-east

\* Amongst other etymologies, the name of the river *Ganges*, has been derived from *Gang*, which in Persian, as *Wanta* in the Hindoo dialect, signifies winding, arched, bent ; the remarkable sinuosities of the river, give great probability to this derivation. Respecting the true source of the *Ganges*, much uncertainty still prevails. In vain, one of the most powerful sovereigns of *Indostan*, the emperor *ACBAR*, at the close of the sixteenth century, sent a number of men, an army of discoverers, provided with every necessary, and the most potent recommendations, to explore the course of the mighty river, which adorned and fertilized the vast extent of his dominions ; they were not able to penetrate beyond the famous *mouth of the cow* ; this is an immense aperture, in a ridge of the mountains of *Tibet*, to which the natives of India have given this appellation, from the fancied, or real, resemblance of the rocks, which form the stupendous chasm, to the mouth of an animal, esteemed sacred, throughout *Indostan*, from the remotest antiquity : from this opening, the *Ganges*, precipitating itself into a large and deep basin, at the foot of the mountains, forms a cataract, which is called *Gangotri* ; the impracticability of scaling these precipitous rocks, and advancing beyond this formidable pass, has prevented the tracing whence this rushing mass of water takes its primary rise ; *uttararanam*, is the Sanscreek verb, to make a leap, *Gangotri*, therefore, means the leap, or fall of the *Ganges* ; this cataract

is

east direction, through the empire of Indostan. It separates into two great branches, a few leagues above *Cassimbazar*; the eastern arm, is again divided into several smaller branches, the principal of which runs past the city of *Dacca*, and falls into the sea, at *Chittigong*. The other, or western arm, which is generally called the river of *Hougly*, runs past *Bandel*, *Hougly*, *Chinsurah*, *Chandernagore*, *Calcutta*, &c. and falls into the Bay of *Bengal*, at *Ingellee*.

is situated in  $33^{\circ} 5'$ , north lat. and about  $75^{\circ}$  east long. from Greenwich. The *Ganges* has been supposed to extend much farther north, beyond *Gangotri*; but here, all is uncertainty, and darkness. In Major RENNEL's map, followed, for this part of it, from one of *Thibet*, made by the Chinese *lamas*, sent by the emperor *CANGHI*, to discover the source of the *Ganges*, and corrected and published by the celebrated *DANVILLE*, the river is made to take its rise in the *Cataiffian* mountains, and passing through two lakes, to run in a westerly direction towards *Gango:ri*; but M. ANQUETIL DU PERRON, in his *Recherches Historiques & Geographiques sur l'Inde*, undertakes to prove, that the river, here taken to be the *Ganges*, from the reports of the Chinese *lamas*, is, in reality, the *Gogra*, or *Dewai*, which falls into the *Ganges*, at *Fatepore*; and that the true source of the *Ganges*, is still wholly unknown to the Europeans: indeed Major RENNEL acknowledges, that he considers this part of the map of the Chinese *lamas*, as extremely vague, but that he was obliged to make use of it, for want of better materials, and that a vast field still remains for the perfectioning of Asiatic geography. T.

The country is every where intersected, with large and broad channels, which all run into the *Ganges*. All merchandize is conveyed, by means of these passages, with great facility, from one place to the other, throughout the land, and the chief branches of the river communicate hereby with each other. It is entirely unknown, whether these channels have been dug by the hands of men, or made by the operations of nature.

They are agreeably bordered, on either side, with many towns and villages, and with pleasant fields, of arable and pasture-land ; which renders the face of the country very beautiful.

Among these channels, there are some, which are wide and deep enough, to be navigable for large ships. The *Haze*, or *Hare* Channel, is one of the most considerable ; it runs straight through the country, into the arm of the river that runs by *Dacca*. It was, as I have already related, examined by the Dutch pilots, in the year 1768. They found sufficient depth and room along its whole extent, for large ships, but for other reasons, it was not judged advisable, that

ships

ships should be carried out to sea through this passage\*.

There are large and dangerous banks, which lie before the mouth of the river, of which I have made mention, in the journal of my voyage†. The river itself is, every where

\* See pages 105 and 106, of this volume. T.

† These sands are distinguished by the English, by the appellation of the western and eastern Braces, Barabulla-sand, Long-sand, and Gasper-sand, or the eastern sea-reef. The braces are two hard flats, lying to the southward of the *Beer-cool* shore; they are detached from the land by a tolerable channel, of three fathoms water or more; and they separate *Ba'fore* road, from the entrance of *Houghly* river. The western Brace is about five miles broad at the north end; it lies north by east, and south by west, being seven leagues long; but from the middle to the south end, it is little more than two miles broad; the depth, at low water, upon the Brace, is at the north end, two fathoms; at the crossing track, which is a space athwart the Braces, about two miles broad, in the direction of east by north, three fathoms; and thence to the southward it gradually increases to eight fathoms; after which there is no more hard ground. The eastern Brace, is four miles broad, from the north end down to the crossing track; and thence to the south end, it tapers away to a point, and bends round in a circle to the s.e. The whole length of the Brace is twelve leagues, and the hard ground at its southern extremity is called the western sea-reef; on the north end of the Brace, there is something less than one fathom, at low water; and the depth increases gradually to the southward; there being two fathoms on the crossing tack, and from three,

where, filled with sandbanks, as well in the middle of the channel, as on the fides,

to three and a half, at its southern point: Barabulla is a sand, which begins about three leagues south by west from the pagoda of *Ingellee*, and extends s.s.w. about ten miles; the north end is called the *head*, and the south end the *tail*, of the Barabulla; the first is very shoal, having only half a fathom, or so, at low water; it is very dangerous, there being five fathoms in the channel close by it; the tail of this sand has not much less water upon it than there is in the channel, only it is broken ground, and overfalls of about half a fathom, every cast of the lead. Long-sand begins at *Cajoree* point, and extends to the southward, to latitude  $21^{\circ} 18'$  north; it is, in all, thirty-five miles long; its width is various, but generally it is narrow, having many patches, which are dry at low water; the directions in which it lies, are south by west, and north by east; the passages called Cockerlees, are swatches through the Long-sand; of these there are three, one just by *Cajoree* point, another between four and five miles more southerly, and the third is directly east from the buoy of *Ingellee*. Gasper-sand is the greatest of all those in the *Houghly* entrance; it begins a little to the southwestward of Mud-point, in latitude  $21^{\circ} 57'$  north, and goes, south by west, twenty miles, where it bends round near *Sagor* island, southeastward, and extends as far as latitude  $21^{\circ}$ ; the north end of this sand is called the Mizen; it is very broad, and fills up the whole entrance, leaving only a channel on each fide, of which, one is the road of *Cajoree*; the middle part is called Gasper, which, to the northward of *Sagor*, is narrow, and to the southward broad; the south end is called the eastern sea-reef; but the whole is one continued sand, with various depths of water upon it; and many patches, which are dry at low water; it is detached from the eastern shore and *Sagor* island, by a very good channel. T.

which renders the navigation very dangerous.

It is at its greatest elevation, and its strongest afflux, in the months of July, August, and September. It then overflows its banks, and inundates the adjacent country. Both flood and ebb, are then so violent, that they threaten to carry every thing before them.

The flood begins, even before the ebb has subsided, and this does not take place slowly and gradually, but with a great force and noise, so that its approach may be heard at the distance of a league.

The water rises sometimes, at once, to the elevation of six or eight feet, or higher. Nothing can resist its fury. Ships are torn from their anchors, and carried with impetuosity along with the current, unless they take care to change their position betimes, so as to be sheltered from the effects of the *baan* (as it is here called), into places where it does not reach, or where its force is broken. It runs up by *Fultab*, but along the opposite shore, and not on that side where the ships, in general, are moored.

Its

Its greatest strength is between *Serampore* and *Hougly*.

The bed of the river is a soft mud; but the shoals in it are a hard quicksand.

The river is at the lowest, in the months of March and April. At *Chinsurah*, where our Company have their factory, there is but a narrow creek left, at that time, at low water, running along the opposite shore.

The breadth of the river, at the mouth, by *Ingellee*, is about four German leagues. It narrows by degrees, so that at and above *Chinsurah* it is not much more than half a league over.

By the violent afflux, the water is always thick and muddy, and is not very fit for drinking until it has stood still for some time, to settle. In order to clarify it with expedition, a sort of small beans, which grow here, are made use of. One of these beans, is rubbed to pieces upon a stone, with a little water; it is then put into a cask of the river-water, and, in the space of six hours, it makes it perfectly clear, and fit for keeping a long time at sea.

From *Ingellee* to *Chinsurah*, where the river is navigable for large ships, the depth

of water is from three and a half to eleven and twelve fathoms.

The waters of the *Ganges* are esteemed holy, and the river sacred, by all the Indians, who inhabit *Bengal*, *Orixa*, *Golconda*, *Coromandel*, and the neighbouring countries. The Gentoos worship the *Ganges* as a divinity, and an annual festival is held in its honour. They conceive that by washing in its holy waters, they are purified from all their sins; and those who live near the river, perform an ablution in it, at least, once every day. Those who have no opportunity of doing this, and who live too far inland, come, once a year, from all parts of the country, as far as thirty days' journey, and farther, to cleanse both their bodies and their souls in the sacred wave.

The number of people, whom I saw arrive in the latter end of March, at *Hougly* and *Terbonee*, for the above purpose, was incredible. The concourse continued for three days together. All of them, whether men, women, or children, when they had washed themselves, and set off on their return home, carried with them some of the river-water, in vessels, which they had brought for that purpose,

purpose, for the use of such of their relatives and friends, as had been left behind, and who, by age or infirmity, were incapacitated for performing the journey \*.

\* A considerable trade is carried on by the pilgrims who return from the *Ganges*, and the price of the holy water bears a proportion to the distance from the river of the place where it is sold. It is chiefly carried in large flasks or bottles, holding nearly five quarts each, suspended at either end of a bamboo, which rests upon the shoulders. T.

## CHAPTER II.

*Inhabitants of BENGAL.—Their Appearance.—Temper and Character.—Women.—Prostitution.—Castes.—Artisans.—Dress of the Men.—Of the Women.—Food.—Religion.—Festivals.—Festival of the GANGES.—Ceremonies observed at it.—Its Purport.—Festival of Hooks, so called by Europeans.—Singular Torments they undergo.—Their Superstition.—Pagodas.—Idols.—Offerings. Brahmins.—Faquires.—Strange Penances.—Conjurers and Serpent-Charmers.—Curious Feats performed by the latter.—Dancing Girls.—Their Dress.—Dances.—Licentiousness.*

**BENGAL** is peopled by various nations; but the principal are the Moguls, or Moors, as they are improperly called, descendants of the Zagathais, who, a little more than two centuries ago, brought this kingdom, together with the whole of the empire of *Indostan*, under their subjection \*.

\* It was in the year 1525, that BABER, one of the descendants of the renowned TIMURREG, or TAMERLANE, got possession of *Deby*, seated himself on the throne of *Indostan*, and properly established the Mogul empire in India. T.

Next follow the Gentoos\*, or Bengalese; the first appellation they have in common with the inhabitants of *Coromandel*, *Golconda*, and the greatest part of *Indostan*; they are a hundred times more numerous than the Moors.

The Bengalese do not differ much from the Europeans in stature; they are more inclined to spareness than to corpulency; their colour is dark-brown; their hair is black, and uncurled; they are well made, and I saw none that were misshapen, or lame, except some *faquires*, who had suffered their bodies to grow crooked, from religious motives. Individuals are met with, who are of a lighter brown cast, and whose complexion approaches to yellow; but these instances are not frequent.

They are, in general, lazy, lustful, and pusillanimous. Their highest felicity seems to be placed in idleness and sleep; and were they not forced, by the wants of their na-

\* *Gentio* is a Portuguese word, meaning *Gentiles*, in the scriptural phrase; by which general appellation they at first called all the natives of India, whether Mahomedans or Hindoos. From them the term *Gentoo* has been adopted, by which, according to the present usage, the Hindoos, or followers of *Brahma*, are distinguished from the Mahomedans, or Mussulmen. T.

ture, to apply themselves to some occupation, they would never work ; for nothing less than hunger or thirst suffices to rouse them from their beloved state of indolence. They are, nevertheless, very intelligent, and are not deficient in understanding, especially not in imitative genius. Another trait of their character, is their addiction to stealing.

I have been told, that their morals were much better, and their behaviour more manly, before the Moguls overran their country, and introduced the Mahomedan religion, and, together with it, innumerable vices, which were before both unpractised and unknown.

Although most of them are very poor, yet there are some of the banyans, or merchants, who are extremely wealthy, and who yet spare no pains whenever they can earn even half a rupee. These men are very shrewd in matters of trade, and are able to make very large and intricate calculations, which would take us up much time, in a moment, from their heads. They write from left to right, with a split reed, and have a separate alphabet, composed of characters which are

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distinct from those of the Moors and Persians.

All of them; carry their pusillanimity to a very great excess ; one European is enough to put fifty of them to flight ; the least menace awakens the fearfulness of their disposition, and is sufficient to make them fly with speed from the threatener. This bent, however, must be chiefly ascribed to the influence of their religion, which instils into them the greatest abhorrence of bloodshed, from their childhood.

The women, although of a brown complexion, have engaging countenances, and are well proportioned. They intrigue with spirit, and are uncommonly wanton. They use every artifice to entrap the hearts of their male acquaintance, and especially strangers. Prostitution is not thought a disgrace : there are every where licensed places, where a great number of loose women are kept ; it is a livelihood that is allowed by law, upon payment to the *fauzdar*, or sheriff, of the place, of a certain duty imposed upon the persons of the females who adopt this mode of life ; they are generally

generally assessed at half a rupee, or fifteen stivers, per month.

The Gentoos are divided into various classes, called castes, of which, as I have been informed, there are more than seventy. Of these, the caste of the *Brahmins* is the first and noblest, and that of the *Pareas*, who are employed in the removal of ordure and carrion, is the lowest and most despised.

In order that these castes, may each remain pure, and unmixed with the others, it is enacted, that no Bengalese, shall marry a woman, who is of a lower caste than his own, or if he do so, he shall then descend into the caste of his wife. The same regulation likewise takes place, if any one, have eaten a meal with another of an inferior caste, in which case, he is immediately degraded to the rank of the person with whom he has been thus familiar. It is not only in these cases, but in many others, that a man loses the privileges of his caste; for which reason, they are very careful not to do any thing that may give occasion hereto, and people of the higher orders, will rather suffer every kind of want, than submit to any thing derogatory to their dignity.

Every caste has its peculiar means of livelihood, or manual trade, by which they are maintained, and which is inherited from father to son. They have accordingly opportunities of making great progress in their respective arts, although they can never expect to rise above the station, in which they are born. The son of a *Brahmin*, becomes a priest, or a man of letters, just as his father. A *Cooley*, or labourer, cultivates the soil, as his ancestors did before him. The son of a *Berra*, or palenkeen-bearer, continues to carry palankeens, all the days of his life. Artificers confine themselves to one sort of work, so that a goldsmith will not work in silver, nor a silversmith in gold. In the *aurungs*, or looms, a weaver will only weave one single sort of stuff during his whole life, unless he be compelled to take another in hand.

The artificers are very ingenious, and I have seen several examples, especially of gold and silversmiths, which are scarcely credible, of the dexterity with which they make every thing that can be formed of those metals; if they have but a proper model, they will imitate it with the greatest exactness and ingenuity. They perform

their

their work with so much expedition and neatness, and with so little apparatus, and so few implements, than an European artist would be astonished at their success. They are withal very poor. The workmen in gold or silver, are frequently only little boys, who sit every day on the *bazar*, or market, waiting till they are called to exercise their trade; when one of them is called, he comes to the house, where he is wanted, with his implements, which he carries in a little basket, and which only consist of a very small anvil, a hammer, a pair of pincers, a few files, and a pair of bellows. A chaffing-dish, or pan of embers, is then given to him, with a model of what is to be made; and the gold or silver is weighed off to him by rupees; and an agreement is made how many *annas*, or sixteenth parts of a rupee, according to the work that is to be done, and the trouble required to finish it, agreeable to the pattern, shall be paid to him; or sometimes an agreement is made how much he shall earn per day, which seldom exceeds six or seven stivers (pence). He then sets about his work in the open air, and performs it with dispatch and ingenuity.

employs both hands and feet, and is able to hold, and turn things about, between his toes and the sole of his foot, as fast as we can with our hands and fingers. When his work is done, and he is rewarded for it, he takes his little basket up again, and seats himself anew on the market, waiting patiently for another opportunity of exercising his profession.

It is the same case with other tradesmen, who are equally sent for home, when any thing is to be done. If shoes are wanted, a shoe-maker is called from the *bazar*, who, with the leather, and other requisites, makes four pair of shoes in a day, for the value of half a crown.

A taylor here, makes as good and handsome clothes, in the European fashion, both for men and women, as any where in Europe. When a piece of the finest muslin is torn, they can mend it again so artificially, that no eye can discover where the defect was. Muslins are sometimes wove so fine, that a piece of twenty yards in length, and longer, can be inclosed in a common pocket tobacco-

tobacco-box \*. The whole is done with a very trifling apparatus, and Europeans are often surprised to behold the perfection of manufacture, which is exemplified here in almost every handicraft, effected with so few, and such imperfect tools.

The common people go almost naked. They wear nothing but a piece of linen, wrapped round the waist, and passed between the legs. Some of them wear a piece of linen, wound about the head ; but others go bareheaded. Those of a higher rank, have a dress of white cotton, which doubles over before, as high as the shoulders, and is fastened with strings round the middle ; these may not be tied on the right side, to distinguish them from the Moguls, or Ma-

\* A common sized Dutch tobacco-box, such as they wear in the pocket, is about eight inches long, half as broad, and about an inch deep. It is incredible to what a degree of fineness, cotton is sometimes spun by the Indians. " I had an opportunity," says Dr. THUNBERG, " of seeing cotton-stuffs so exceedingly fine, that half a dozen shirts could be squeezed together in one hand. These are, however, not readily made use of, but are kept, as rarities, by people of distinction, to shew to what a degree of perfection, the art of spinning can be brought." T.

hommedans ; this dress hangs down to their feet ; they wear no stockings, but have a kind of shoes, which are put on slipshod, and are turned up before, just like the Turkish *babooches*.

Most of them shave their heads, and eradicate the hair from all other parts of the body. Rich people wear turbands, but made in a different manner from those of the Moors. A great many of them wear small earrings.

The dress of the women consists in a piece of cotton-cloth, which is thrown over the shoulders, and under which they wear a kind of coat and drawers. They support their breasts, and press them upwards by a piece of linen, which passes under the arms, and is made fast on the back. Those that can afford it, adorn their hair with gold bodkins, and their arms, legs, and toes, with gold or silver rings and bands, as likewise their ears, and the cartilage of the nose.

The women of the lower classes, wear similar ornaments, which are made of a sort of cowries, brought from the *Maldivian* islands, and called *chanclos*, which the Bengalese have the art of sawing through, so that every cutting

cutting makes a ring. They go bareheaded, and their hair is turned up, and fastened at the back of the head.

Rice is the chief article of food of the Hindoos, and serves them instead of bread. Vegetables and milk constitute the remainder of their scanty bill of fare. They eat no fish, flesh of animals, or any thing that has received life. They frequently let milk stand till it is thick and sour, before they use it ; it is then called *tayer*. Their beverage is generally pure water ; they are enemies of every kind of inebriating liquor, and never indulge in the beastly pleasures of intoxication, as too many other nations do, except some of the very lowest castes, who sometimes exceed the bounds of temperance, in drinking a kind of spirits, which they distil from spoiled rice.

With regard to their religion, I could not obtain much particular knowledge, farther than what relates to outward ceremonies and rites. Several other writers have, however, enlarged on it. I have often conversed on the subject, with their *brabmins*, by means of an interpreter, but always found them either very ignorant of, or very obstinate

stinate in not revealing the principles and tenets of their belief. Whatever they said was so wildly absurd, and what they alleged at one time, was so inconsistent with what they said at another, that I thought very little of it worthy of preservation. I could collect, that they believed in a Supreme Being, to whom several other deities were subordinate, of which the *Ganges* was one of the principal. This supreme God was the author of all good ; but there was another spirit who violently opposed the first, and occasioned all the evils and distresses which fall upon mankind. They vent the most horrid execrations against this evil spirit, especially when it thunders or lightens, which they believe proceeds from him. They pourtray him in the form of a dragon, or serpent, with four claws, trampled under foot by the beneficent deity, who is painted in a variety of shapes.

They believe in a future state, in which every one shall be rewarded, according to his good or evil deeds in this world ; but this is so blended and confounded with their belief in the transmigration of souls, that I

have not been able to form a clear idea of their tenets in this respect. They say that the world will have an end, and that the good Being, after having destroyed every thing but the *Ganges*, will remain, sitting upon a pisang-leaf, with two betel-plants by him, floating upon the river, and wrapped up in meditation and enjoyment, for everlasting.

Besides others, they have three grand festivals ; namely, the festival in honour of the *Ganges*; the festival of *books*, as it is called by the Europeans ; and that of the *washings*, or purifications.

The festival of the *Ganges* was held, in the month of October, while I was at *Chinsurah*. The chief purport of it, seemed to be the casting of a certain image into the *Ganges*, with much ceremony.

Wealthy banyans, who can afford the expence of such a festival, will certainly not neglect giving one, at least once in their lives, although it may cost them ten thousand rupees, or more. Of several of the festivals of this kind, which were given at *Chinsurah*, there was one, which surpassed all the

the others, and which cost the banyan who gave it, full eight thousand rupees, or twelve thousand gilders. It lasted three successive days.

I went to the house of the banyan, where the festival was held, that I might have a perfect opportunity of observing the detail of it.

At the upper end of a large room, there was a kind of stage erected, about four feet from the ground. Above it, was a superb canopy, supported, on each side, by two pillars. The whole was covered with red cotton cloth, which was spangled with flowers, made of thin plates of silver; and which, by the numerous lamps, with which the chamber was illuminated, had a very brilliant effect.

Upon the stage, was a square platform, upon which a semicircular niche was placed, containing several misshapen images of clay, all richly gilt and painted.

The uppermost and largest representation, was that of a woman, called *Doulga*, with two larger, and two smaller, arms; in one hand she held the head of a man; in another, a goblet; in the third, an oblong piece of wood; and in the fourth, some-

thing that resembled a book. On each side of her, were two smaller images, which the brahmins told me were the representations of her children. Lower down, was the image of a monster, having the body of a horse, and the head of a dragon ; and near it was a hideous human figure, which it threatened to devour.

The member which distinguished the images of males, was naked ; and in such a posture, and of such a size, as to be extremely offensive to every one, but to these blind heathens.

The outer border of the niche, was divided into small square compartments. Different achievements of their gods were delineated in each ; but all were painted in a deformed style. The whole of the niche, and every thing near it, was adorned with gold and silver, and its appearance was, in fact, splendid and dazzling.

Here and there, were representations of a divinity, to whom they pay adoration, under the appellation of *lingam* \*. This is the

\* The *lingam* is the image of the male organ of generation, and, in the mythology of the Hindoos, is the universal symbol of renovative nature. T.

most scandalous worship of all the numerous abominations, which the superstition of man has multiplied upon the face of the earth. They prostrated themselves, from time to time, before this idol, and made offerings to it of flowers, perfume, pieces of gold and silver, and even gold and silver coin, which was diligently collected, at the termination of the festival, by the brahmins, who had the care of this deity.

The roof of the apartment, was hung full of cocoanuts, arecanuts, and other fruits, strung in rows. The concourse of people was very great, and every part was crowded, except in the middle of the room, where a space was left for the dancing girls, who danced for three nights, from the evening until daybreak, before *Doulga*. While dancing they threw themselves into the most indecent attitudes, and with gestures the most libidinous, they kept their eyes constantly fixed on the niche. They danced to the sound of cymbals, triangles, *tomtoms*, or little drums, and other musical instruments ; and amidst the chanting of hymns, in honour of the gods, whose festival they celebrated.

The whole gave a confused noise, but by no means disagreeable.

In the last night, a solemn sacrifice was made of a young buffalo, in the following manner :

A large oblong pit was dug, in the middle of the hall, opposite to the stage ; at the upper end, two low stakes were driven into the ground, not far from each other. The buffalo, which was plentifully adorned with flowers, was then put into the pit, and his neck laid between the two stakes, his head being so placed, that his eyes were turned towards the niche. If he continue to look steadfastly at the niche, without turning his head or eyes away from it, it is considered as a peculiarly favourable omen, and a sign that the sacrifice is agreeable to the goddess ; but if the contrary take place, and he turn his head, to either one side or the other, it is construed into an evil presage. A cross piece of wood is made fast, over the neck, to the stakes, so that the animal cannot lift up its head. Upon this, they pull the buffalo by the tail, as hard as they can, in order to stretch the neck, which is cut through,

at one stroke, by a brahmin. The head is laid before the goddes, and the people manifest great joy ; but if the brahmin be forced to make more strokes than one, it is looked upon as a fatal omen, and occasions much sorrow and consternation.

During the whole of the three nights, the apartment was filled with people ; it was open to every one ; and the guests were plentifully sprinkled with rosewater, from time to time ; those of most consideration were anointed, upon their head and hands, with oil of roses.

The 10th of October, which was the fifth day after the full moon, and the fourth after the commencement of the festival, was the time appointed by the brahmans, to commit the offerings to the *Ganges* ; and this solemnity was observed, not only at *Chinsurah*, but along the whole course of the river, at one and the same time, with various degrees of pomp and magnificence, according to the wealth and power of the celebrators.

In the afternoon, all the niches were taken out of the houses, where they had been exposed to view. At the door, they were placed upon handbarrows, the faces

of the images, being turned backwards, and were carried by four men, upon their shoulders. Two men went on each side, with fans, made of peacock's feathers, to drive away the flies and other insects from the images. Two went before, with clarions, and others followed with drums, and cymbals, making a confused kind of music. The procession was accompanied by a great concourse of people. When they came to the banks of the *Ganges*, the niches were put on board of vessels, in which the attendants with fans, and the musicians likewise embarked, continuing their rude harmony; whilst others again danced before the goddess, making gestures of the most unequivocal and shameful kind that can be conceived.

In this manner, they sailed up and down the river, which was covered by an innumerable quantity of vessels of all sizes, all gaudily decorated with flags. The people were in high spirits, and all emulously strove to evince their joy, by their gestures and expressions.

At sunset, all the niches were thrown out  
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of the boats into the river, which terminated the ceremonies of the festival.

As far as I could collect, from what the banyan said, I understood that this festival was the representation of a marriage ; for the *Ganges* is supposed annually to espouse the goddess *Doulga*, and the children who stood on each side, are intended to represent the progeny of this exalted union. The highly voluptuous attitudes and postures which were made before the goddess, were intended to excite the desires of the celestial couple, and stimulate them to the procreation of more children, in order to conquer the evil spirit.

The festival of *books* \* (which is the name given to it by Europeans) is celebrated in the beginning of April. I was not an eyewitness of it, because I had, at that time, left the *Ganges* ; but the following account was given to me, by people worthy of credit.

At the top of a high stake, erected for this

\* Called by the Hindoos, the festival of *Opposs*. It is supposed to be kept in commemoration of a martyr, who suffered extraordinary tortures for the sake of his faith. T.

purpose, a cross piece of wood of thirty feet in length, is laid, which turns round upon an iron pin. A Bengalese, who is consecrated to this solemnity, by one of the chief brahmins, then has a great iron hook run into his body, under the ribs, over which a piece of cloth, or girdle, is stiffly bound, to prevent the tearing through of the flesh. The hook is fastened by a short cord, to one end of the cross beam, and a longer cord is fixed to the other, by which it is turned round with rapidity, several times, by the people who are present, whilst the man who undergoes the penance, and who hangs by the hook at the other end of the cross beam, in the air, strews ground rice, or flowers, upon the people below, which they catch and preserve, as sacred relics. After having been whirled round for some time, he is taken down, the hook taken out of his body, and the wound is cured as soon as possible.

Others, out of a superstitious zeal, run iron pegs through their tongues, some that are as thick as a finger, which they keep in that situation, and carry about with them wherever they go, as long as the festival lasts.

Some make two openings, one in each side, through which they pass ropes, which are stretched tight at either end, and along which they run backwards and forwards.

Several suffer themselves to be crushed to death, under the broad wheels of a lofty machine, which is made for the purpose ; and being filled with people, is drawn about by a multitude of others. This, however, is more practised among the Gentoos on the coast of *Coromandel*, than in *Bengal*.

They inflict a variety of other corporal penances upon themselves, during this festival, but the above are the principal.

The festivals are not celebrated every year on the same day, for they are sometimes anticipated, and sometimes delayed, for several days, according to the regulations of lucky and unlucky days made by the brahmins. In this respect they are excessively superstitious, and they will never undertake any thing upon a day, which they esteem unlucky.

It is the same with regard to numbers. An odd number is reckoned lucky, and an even one, the contrary. Upon receiving or paying sums of money, they will rather

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lose a rupee, than either take or give an even number.

Their temples, called *pagodas*, are mostly square ; they are stone buildings, which are not very lofty, and are crowned with a cupola. Within, they are very dark ; for they have no windows, and only receive their light through the entrance. The image of the idol, stands in the deepest and darkest recess of the temple ; it is of a monstrous shape, and of uncouth dimensions, having many arms and hands, in each of which it holds something. Amongst many others, I saw one, which had an human figure, and was represented in a sitting posture. The head was very large in proportion to the body, with the tongue hanging out of the mouth, half way down the breast ; the eyes were stretched wide open ; it had four arms and hands ; one hand was empty, but the palm of it was turned upwards ; in another it held a little board ; in a third, a naked sword ; and in the fourth it gripped a human head by the hair.

I saw some idols, which had eight, and others, with sixteen arms ; these had an hu-

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man body, but the head of a dog, with drawn bows, and other instruments of war, in their hands.

Some of them were black, others of a yellowish hue; one was the solitary divinity of a temple, and others had images representing their wives near them.

In some pagodas, were no images, but only a single black, polished, stone, lying upon a round altar, covered with flowers and sandalwood, which were strewed upon it. They shew more veneration for these stones, than for the idols themselves.

Their worship of these divinities, consists in throwing themselves upon the ground, and making their *salam*, or salutation with their hands, ejaculating their prayers in silence, in that posture.

The offerings which they are accustomed to present to their gods, consist of flowers, rice, pieces of silk and cotton, and sometimes gold and silver. Every thing is laid before the idols, and is taken care of by the brahmins, who profit the most by it. They guard the pagodas, both by day, and by night.

The brahmins, or priests, called *brabmans* by

by the Indians, who are the *brachmanni* of antiquity, are of the first and noblest caste of the people, as we have before observed. They are known by a thin cord, with a bead, which is passed round the neck, and hangs down upon the breast ; they are never without this mark of distinction.

They are held in the greatest respect by all the other castes ; and no one approaches a brahmin, but with marks of the highest veneration, to which they make no other return, than shewing the open palms of their hands.

There are several castes of brahmans, which differ in rank and reputation ; some of them are reputed so holy, and are held in such high veneration by the people, that the water in which a brahmin, belonging to them, has washed his feet, is esteemed sacred, and is given to the common Bengalese to drink, who think it the greatest felicity to be allowed a share of such a disgusting beverage.

The *vedam*, or sacred book, in which the principles and duties of their religion are inscribed, is kept, it is said, by the chief brahmans of the first order. The copies of it,

it, are asserted to be written in Persian letters, upon a certain sort of paper, impervious to the attacks of worms, or other insects.

The brahmins never neglect washing themselves in the *Ganges*, at sunrise. Before they enter the water, they make a few *salams*, or salutations, to the river; upon this they take some water in the hollow of the hand, and offer it to the rising sun, bowing their heads many times; they then besprinkle all the parts of their body with it, one by one, ending by the forehead and breast. I saw several, who had a little brafs pot, or shell, with which they continually scooped up water, out of the river, and let it run out again immediately, muttering prayers all the while; but when they filled it for the last time, they went out of the river, and poured the contents upon the bank; after this, they made a mark, with a yellowish kind of clay, upon the nose and eyes, in the form of the letter *y*; I saw other Bengalese likewise mark themselves in this manner, making, however, only a single stripe upon the nose, and upon the forehead. They then go into their pagodas, to pray, decorating their idols with

with flowers, and strewing them with sandalwood.

I was assured, that brahmins are to be met with, in the neighbourhood of *Dacca*, who, far from resembling some of these castes in stupidity and ignorance, on the contrary, entertain pure ideas of the godhead, and penetrating through the veil of these external, puerile, and ridiculous ceremonies, to the conception of an almighty Creator, join the practice of the moral virtues, to their belief in his omniscient providence. But they will seldom enter into conversation with strangers on these subjects.

The land abounds with a sort of religious beggars, who are called *faquires*; these are, in general, the very refuse of society, the worst of whatever deserves to be called bad.

They do not work, but live by the alms, which are bestowed upon them, willingly and in plenty, by the superstition of the people. They go entirely naked, and are wholly devoid of shame. On their shoulders, they carry a thick club, the end of which is wound round, with rags of cloth, of all colours. It is dangerous to meet them in solitary places, or in the woods, for they make

no scruple of knocking down, and murdering, whoever happens to have any thing of value about him. They wander about the country, in troops of two or three hundred, and all stand under one chief, who consecrates them to this vocation, which they may not adopt without his consent.

They strew their hair, which hangs half way down the back, with ashes, and sometimes wallow in ashes, rolling the whole body in them, and making a most disgusting figure of themselves.

They are not allowed to marry, but they indemnify themselves for this privation, in other ways, and by the perpetration of the most abominable beastliness.

They generally take up their abode in shady places, either in the open air, or in old and ruinous buildings, without using any thing to repose upon, or to cover themselves.

Genuine *faquires* make vows, that they will perform penance, by remaining, during their whole lives, in some unnatural or uneasy posture, or by torturing their bodies by various methods ; but most of them are not excited by real penitence or compunction, but are spurred on by vainglory, endeavour-

ing to attract the notice and respect of the commonality, and thereby to raise themselves to esteem and honour.

I met with several of them, at different times. Among others, were some, who, by keeping one arm stretched out upwards for many years, had lost the power of lowering it again, and were forced always to remain in that position. Others, who had made choice of a bend in their body forwards, and who were, in consequence, grown so crooked, that they formed a right angle. Some, who by continually bending the head backwards, could not bring it back to its natural position. There were others again, who dragged heavy iron chains about with them, during their whole lives. Inland, as I have related in my journal, I saw one, who had a brass ring, of the thickness of a quill, thrust through the penis, with three other rings of iron, rivetted to it like links of a chain, without it seeming to inconvenience him at all, in walking.

Conjurors, and serpent-charmers, are to be met with, in abundance. The latter, chiefly reside in the villages, and exercise their art for a trifle of money. When a snake

snake is supposed to have taken up his abode, in a house, or any other place, one of these exorcists is sent for, who performs his office in the following manner :

He first creeps, upon his hands and knees, all over the ground, smelling in every hole and corner, and soon discovers the reptile, if there be one, by the scent. Having thus ascertained whereabouts the animal is, he sits down, and taking out a little flute, made of bone, plays upon it for some time, till the snake comes out of his hidingplace, and darts at him, with a violent hiss ; he then drops the flute ; catches the creature in both hands, and kills it, at one blow, by striking its head against the ground, without being bitten by it.

They know how to deprive snakes of their poison ; using for that purpose a little ball of *capok*, or cotton, with which they take it from between the teeth, where it lies, inclosed in bladders ; and they keep the snakes, thus deprived of their venomous quality, in wicker baskets, carrying them about the country, and making them dance.

When I was at *Fultab*, I sent for one of them, in order to see this curious exhibition.

He brought three baskets with him, in which there were several snakes. He took out two of them, both *Cobras di Capelli*, which are esteemed the most venomous of all, and threw them upon the ground, in the grafts. They immediately began hissing, and erecting half of their bodies upright, darted upon, and twined round each other, as often as he encouraged them. They sometimes darted at the bystanders, but then he caught them suddenly by the tail, and drew them back. He sometimes excited them against himself, and suffered them to bite his breast, hands, and forehead, till the blood streamed from the wounds. After having made them play their tricks for some time, he took out of a basket, a very large snake, which was at least twelve or thirteen feet in length, and beautifully variegated with tints of green and yellow ; he made it bite him so hard in the breast, that it remained hanging by its teeth, without seeming to do him any harm ; he then took a smaller one, put its head into his mouth, and made it seize his tongue, to which it likewise cleaved by the teeth ; and throwing them round his neck and arms, was encircled

in their folds, without suffering any other inconvenience, than the blood flowing from the wounds, along his face and breast.

Although these men, do not die by the effects of the venom, because, as aforesaid, they have the secret of depriving the snakes of their poison every day, yet their skin has a leprous and scaly appearance, and they are covered with pustules.

Both Moors and Bengalese take great delight in having women dance before them, who are kept for that purpose, and are educated, from their infancy, in the exercise of this diversion. Their feasts and entertainments would be destitute of attraction, if a troop of six or eight dancing-girls were not present at them.

Whenever they are sent for, they are always accompanied by some of their musicians, who, with their cymbals, *tomtoms*, and an instrument which resembles a violin, and upon which they play with a little stick, do not make a disagreeable concert, at least in the Bengal taste; and they accompany their performance with their voices, which, however, is not the most pleasant part of the entertainment,

The dancing girls are richly decorated, according to their fashion, with rings of gold, or of silver gilt, upon their arms, legs, fingers, toes, and necks ; they have golden circlets, of the shape of French horns, passed through the left nostril. Their dress consists in wide Moorish drawers, which reach to their heels, and are fastened round the waist ; over this, they have a *kabay*, which is made with a small body above, and a flowing petticoat below ; it is made tight under the bosom, which it supports, and presses upwards, but which it covers entirely ; the sleeves come down to the hands, and are fastened with a row of little buttons underneath. Their hair, which is quite black, and shines with oil, is stroked smooth over the head to the back part, where it is tied in a knot. They have a veil of white muslin, which is thrown over the whole, and with which they conceal their faces from time to time, during the dance.

Their dances consist in continual twinings and bendings of the body and head ; and in advancing and receding, as is practised in the Spanish dances.

If any one be captivated by the charms of  
their

their persons, or of their dancing, they make no scruple of gratifying him with the enjoyment of those which are less public, for a trifling consideration ; and without occasioning the least scandal to the company, or to their companions, who continue dancing, without noticing the retreat of their frail associate.

## CHAPTER. III.

*Marriages of the Bengalese.—Burning alive of Widows.—Ample Account of the Ceremonies observed on such an Occasion.—Another Instance.—Burying alive Widows.—Diseases incident to the Natives.—Dysentery.—Swelled Legs.—The Jounibaad.—Small-pox.—Inoculation.—Practitioners of Phisic.—Their Remedies.—Mode of Salutation.—Manner of Drinking.—Household Conveniences.—The Moguls.—Their Complexion.—Character.—Religion.—Morals.—Infamous Debauchery.—Dress.*

THE Bengalese marry no more than one wife, except the brahmins, who take as many as they choose, or can maintain ; yet if the wife of one of another caste be barren, and he have money enough to support her, he is allowed by the brahmins, upon payment of a certain sum, and the distribution of some alms, to take a second wife, in addition to the first.

The ceremonies which take place at their marriages are of little importance.

Girls, as in all warm climates, are marriageable

riageable at an early age, and they cease likewise to bear children very soon.

The women live in the strictest subjection to their husbands, and in some castes, the wives are obliged, when their husbands die, to follow them to the other world, and are either burnt, or buried alive together with the body : if they were to refuse submitting to this barbarous custom, their characters would be stamped with the greatest infamy, and they would live the scorn and derision of their companions and relatives.

I was an eyewitness of the burning of a Bengalese woman, and of the ceremonies which accompanied it ; and the following is the account of it, which I drew up at the time :

On the 25th of November, having received intimation that this solemnity would take place about noon, I went betimes, with some of my friends, to the place which had been pointed out to us ; it was a few paces out of *Chinsurah*, upon the banks of the *Ganges*.

We here found the body of the deceased, lying upon a *kadel*, or couch, covered with a piece

piece of white cotton, and strewed with *siri*, or betel-leaves.

The woman, who was to be the victim, sat upon the couch, at the foot-end, with her legs crossed under her, and her face turned towards that of the deceased, which was uncovered. The husband seemed to me, to have been a person of about fifty years of age, and his widow was full thirty. She had a yellow cotton cloth wrapped around her, and her arms and hands were adorned with rings of *chancos*. Her hair, which hung loose all round her head, was plentifully strewed with ground sandalwood. She held a little green branch in her right hand, with which she drove away the flies from the body.

Round her, upon the ground, sat ten or twelve women, who kept supplying her with fresh betel, a portion of which she had continually in her mouth ; and when she had half masticated it, she gave it to one of her female friends, or to others of the bystanders, who begged it of her, wrapped it up in pieces of cloth, and preserved it as a relic.

She sat, for the greatest part of the time, like one buried in the deepest meditation ; yet

yet with a countenance that betrayed not the least signs of fear. The other women, her relations and friends, spoke to her continually of the happiness which she was about to enjoy, with her husband, in a future life. One of these women, who sat behind her upon the couch, frequently embraced her, and seemed to talk the most, and very earnestly, with her.

Besides the women, several men, as well her relations, as brahmans, were present, who at intervals, struck their cymbals, and beat their drums, accompanied by the songs, or cries of the women, making a most deafening noise. About half past ten o'clock, they began to prepare the funeral pile, at the distance of a little more than eight feet from the spot, where the unfortunate widow was sitting, but which she beheld with the most stoic indifference, as if it in no ways concerned her.

The pile was made, by driving four green bamboo stakes into the earth, leaving about five feet above the ground, and being about six feet from each other, forming a square, in which was first laid a layer of large fire-wood, which was very dry, and easily combustible;

bustible ; upon this was put a quantity of dry straw, or reeds, which hung over beyond the wood, and was plentifully besmeared with *gbee*, which is a sort of butter, when it becomes old and rank. This was done alternately, till the pile was about five feet in height ; and the whole was then strewed with fine powdered rosin. Finally, a white cotton sheet, which was first washed in the *Ganges*, was spread over the pile, thus completely prepared for consuming of the devoted victim.

The widow was then admonished by a brahmin, that it was time to begin the rites. She was then taken up by two women, from the couch, carried a little farther, and put down upon the ground, while the others made a circle round her, and continued to offer her fresh betel, accompanied by entreaties, that, as she would, in so short a time, appear, with her husband in the presence of *Ram*, or their highest God, she would supplicate for various favours for them ; and above all, that she would salute their deceased friends, whom she might meet in the celestial abodes, in their names.

In the mean time, the body was taken up

up from the couch by four men, and carried to the river, where it was washed clean, and rubbed with turmeric, but which was afterwards washed off again. Upon this, one of the brahmins took a little clay out of the river, and marked the forehead of the deceased with it, wrapping the body up in white linen ; which, when this had been done, was carried to the pile, and laid upon it.

The woman, who had beheld all these preparations, was then led by two of her female relations to the *Ganges*, in order to wash in the river. When she came again upon the bank, her clothes were pulled off, and a piece of red silk and cotton gingham was wrapped round her body. One of her male relatives, took out her gold nose-jewel, while she sat down, and gave it to her, but she returned it to him for a memorial of her. Hereupon she went again to the river, and taking up some water in her hands, muttered some prayers, and offered it to the sun. All her ornaments were then taken from her, and her armlets were broken, and chaplets of white flowers were put upon her neck and hands. Her hair was tucked up with

with five combs, and her forehead was marked with clay in the same manner as that of her husband. Her head was covered with a piece of silk, and a cloth was tied round her body, in which the brahmins put some parched rice.

She then took her last farewell of her friends, both men and women, who had assisted her in the preparation, and she was conducted by two of her female relations to the pile. When she came to it, she scattered from that side, where the head of the deceased lay, flowers and parched rice upon the spectators. She then took some boiled rice, rolled up in a ball, and put it into the mouth of the deceased, laying several other similar balls of rice under the pile. Two brahmins next led her three times round it, while she threw parched rice among the bystanders, who gathered it up with great eagerness. The last time that she went round, she set a little earthen burning lamp, at each of the four corners. The whole of this was done during an incessant noise of cymbals and drums, and amidst the shouts of the brahmins, and of her relations. After having thus walked

three

three times round the pile, she mounted courageously upon it, laid herself down upon the right side, next to the body, which she embraced with both her arms; a piece of white cotton was spread over them both, they were bound together over the arms, and middle, with two easy bandages, and a quantity of firewood, straw, *ghee*, and rosin, was laid upon them. In the last place, her nearest relation, to whom she had given her nose-jewel, came with a burning torch, and set the straw on fire, and in a moment the whole was in a flame. The noise of the drums was redoubled, and the shouts of the spectators were more loud and incessant than ever, so that the shrieks of the unfortunate woman, had she uttered any, could not possibly have been heard.

What most surprized me, at this horrid and barbarous rite, was the tranquillity of the woman, and the joy expressed by her relations, and the spectators. The wretched victim, who beheld these preparations making for her cruel death, seemed to be much less affected by it, than we Europeans, who were present. She underwent every thing with

with the greatest intrepidity, and her countenance seemed, at times, to be animated with pleasure, even at the moment when she was ascending the fatal pile.

Her feet appeared from between the fire-wood, on the side where I stood ; and I had an opportunity of observing them, because a little breeze, playing upon that side, cleared it of the flame and smoke ; I paid peculiar attention to her, in order to discover whether any convulsive motions agitated her feet, but they remained immovable, in the midst of the conflagration.

The women who were present, and who all, sooner or later, would have to undergo the same fate, if they survived their husbands, appeared to rejoice at the sacrifice, and shewed every token of exultation.

If an European were to touch such a devoted woman, even accidentally, she would not be allowed to be burnt, and would be thought entirely defiled and profaned. The man who had touched her, would be exposed to great danger, if he did not purchase indemnity, by large sums of money. This happened to our director SICHTERMAN, who was

was obliged to pay twenty-five thousand rupees, for an imprudence of this kind, which he had been guilty of.

If the women were to refuse accompanying their husbands, in this manner, to the other world, they would be despised and abandoned by their friends, as the refuse of society, the dregs of impurity. In such cases, they are never allowed to marry again; their hair is shaved off, and an eternal disgrace attaches both to themselves and to their family. Hence their relations employ all possible persuasions, and assiduously encourage these wretched creatures to submit to the universal custom; yet I was told that this is seldom necessary, as they possess sufficient enthusiasm, willingly to devote themselves, to this horrible death.

A little before I arrived in the *Ganges*, a rich Bengalese, who was the broker of our Company, had died, and left a young and handsome widow, under seventeen years of age; with whom he had but once cohabited, in the beginning of his marriage, and instead of living with her, had kept a concubine, with whom he resided.

As soon as he was dead, her friends came

to her, and, well knowing the infamous life he had led with respect to her, endeavoured to persuade her, in the most forcible manner, not to be burnt with her husband, since he had used her so ill in his lifetime, that she ought not to account herself his wife, and that she would therefore not be required to comply with the general usage.

She, however, answered undauntedly, that she was once united to him, and esteemed herself united to him for ever, that she had loved him, and would now accompany him even in death. On the same day, she suffered herself, with a cheerful countenance, after having embraced and kissed the dead body, to be burnt with it to ashes.

They believe, that if they sacrifice themselves in this way, they will enjoy with their husbands, every species of sensual gratification, in another life; and fired by this expectation, they expire with pleasure, amidst the torments of flame.

The pile which was erected for the young widow I have just mentioned, was made of sandalwood, and was calculated to be worth seven thousand gilders \*.

\* About 633*L*. sterling. T.

The burying alive is done in the following manner. A pit is dug in the earth, of six feet square, in which the body of the deceased, after having been washed in the *Ganges*, in the same manner as when the widow is burnt, is laid upon the back. The woman, after having been also washed and prepared in the same way, as in the former instance, jumps into the pit, lays herself down next to the body, and takes it in her arms ; upon which the hole is instantly filled with earth, and trampled hard down, so that she is smothered in a moment. The whole of this rite, is equally performed, amidst the sounding of their musical instruments, and the shouts of the assistants.

The disease which is the most prevalent here, is the dysentery, which is occasioned by the flatulency and insipidness of their articles of food.

They are likewise much afflicted with swelled legs ; and I saw some who had them bloated to the thickness of a man's waist. A gangrene is the usual consequence, and this disease generally terminates in the death of the patient. They have no surgeons who are capable of opposing the progress of the

evil, or of amputating a limb ; and many unhappy wretches die in pain and misery, for want of skilful practitioners.

A sort of sickness, or fever, likewise prevails in *Bengal*, which is called the *jounibaad*, and which generally sweeps away those who are attacked by it, in the space of three days. Those who recover, often retain a deafness, a blindness, or a consumption ; and sometimes a general paralysis, the dreadful consequences of this scourge.

This disease is better cured by the native practitioners, than by European physicians ; for its symptoms are not dubious, and it is a disorder peculiar to the country.

The small-pox is equally a distemper that prevails here ; it began to rage violently before I left the *Ganges*.

Inoculation is much practised by the natives, but they convert the contagious matter into powder, which they give internally, mixed with some liquid. A few of them, however, inoculate by incision. The first mode has generally a very fortunate issue ; they prepare the body for the infection, by laxatives, and ablutions. A fever is felt the day after inoculation, which is soon followed

by

by the eruption; and in three weeks the cure is completed.

The practitioners of medicine, among the Bengalese, are all of the brahmin caste. They are held in great esteem, on account of the art they profess ; but their knowledge of it, seemed to me, to be very imperfect. They inherit from their ancestors, who have equally been physicians, a number of recipes of remedies for all sorts of diseases, which they have found, by long experience, to be of benefit ; and when they hit upon the true nature of the disorder, they seldom fail in the cure. But upon any uncommon appearances, they are confounded, and know not what to do ; of which I have known several instances.

They have not the least knowledge of anatomy, because their religion does not permit them to shed blood, or to open a body,

When they feel the pulse, they do it with a kind of drumming motion with the fingers.

They say that all distempers arise from one of these three causes, namely, heat, cold, or bile.

Their medicines are mostly such as are produced in the country. Amongst others, they make use of a kind of little artificial stone, that is manufactured at *Goa*, and possesses a strong aromatic scent. They give the scrapings of this, in a little water, mixed with sugar, to their patients. They employ sugar with almost all their medicines; insomuch that when a physician is sent for, he always brings sugar with him.

The salutation of the Bengalese, consists in touching the forehead with the right hand, and bending the head forwards. When they want to make a very humble *salam*, or obeisance, they first lay the right hand upon the breast, then touch the ground with it, and afterwards the forehead.

They are not deficient in expressions of humility, when they address any one, from whom they stand in need of any favour. The least that they say, is, "I am your most devoted slave;" but, in the same way as takes place in our more civilized Europe, they are mere sounds, words of course, signifying nothing.

They will, on no account, drink out of the same vessel with an European, or Mahomedan;

homedan ; nay, not with any one of a different caste. When they drink, they do not set the vessel to the mouth, but hold it at a little distance above it, and let the liquor run into the mouth, without closing the lips, or drawing breath ; and yet without spilling a drop.

Their household conveniences are very few ; they never make use of either chairs, or benches.

The Moors, or Moguls, form the remainder of the inhabitants of *Bengal*. They were originally natives of *Tartary*. They are, in general, browner than the Gentoos, although some of them are tolerably fair, or rather yellowish ; but these are born farther to the north. Most of those who live about *Agra*, and *Debjly*, are, as I was informed by the beforementioned French missionary, fair, in comparison with the inhabitants of the more southern provinces.

They are more courageous than the Bengalese. Their *sipahis* make middling good soldiers, when they are trained and commanded by European officers ; at least, according to the testimony of the English, who employ them much.

Their religion is that of Mahomet. They, in consequence, hold in abhorrence the idolatry of the Gentoos. Yet their morals are, on the other hand, much worse ; and indeed infamously bad. The sin of Sodom is not only in universal practice among them, but extends to a bestial communication with brutes, and in particular with sheep. Women even abandon themselves to the commission of unnatural crimes. One of my friends, who had resided for a long time at *Patna*, informed me, that, during his abode at that place, a Moorish woman had endeavoured, like another *Pasiphaë*, to satisfy her lust, in the embraces of a stallion ; but the dreadful consequence of her boundless lubricity were, that she was so severely hurt in her attempts to procure the enjoyment she sought, that she died in the greatest agonies, a few hours afterwards. I do not believe that there is any country upon the face of the globe, where lascivious intemperance, and every kind of unbridled lewdness, is so much indulged in, as in the lower provinces of the empire of *Indostan*. The contamination of vice is not solely confined to the two nations, who are natives of the country, but extends likewise

to the Europeans, who settle, or trade here. The climate influences perhaps more upon the constitution here, than in other countries.

The dress of both rich and poor, among the Moguls, is nearly alike, and differs only in costliness. It consists of a long coat, which is called *kabay*, as has been before described. They tie a girdle round the middle, and in it, on the left side, they wear a weapon, which they call by a name that may be translated *belly-piercer*; it is about fourteen inches long; broad near the hilt, and tapering away to a sharp point; it is made of fine steel; the handle has, on each side of it, a catch, which, when the weapon is gripped by the hand, shuts round the wrist, and secures it from being dropped. They seldom or never go out, without having it in their girdle, in the same manner, as the Javanese wear their krisse.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Government in BENGAL.—Coins.—Weights.—Measures.—Divisions of Time.—Chronometers.—Country-boats.—Land-carriage.—Animals.—Elephants.—Tigers.—Wild Buffaloes.—Jackals.—Snakes.—Insects.—Birds of Prey.—Fish.—Crocodiles.—Languages.—Articles of Commerce.—Silk.—Management of the Silkworms.—Cotton Manufactures.—Opium.—Mode of its Cultivation and Collection.—Annual Quantity collected.—Saltpetre.—Gumlack.—Articles of Importation.*

**BENGAL** is under the administration of a governor, styled *Nabob*, or properly *Nawab*, who was formerly appointed by the emperor of *Indostan*, or the Great Mogul (but now this is done by the English), as his lieutenant. These viceroys were generally taken, in an hereditary succession, or in default of a male heir, from the nearest relatives; and though they were only the delegates of the emperor, as lord paramount, they ruled, in fact, as sovereign princes. They were, however, obliged to furnish men and arms to the emperor, when at war, and

and to pay a certain proportion of the annual revenues which they drew from this wealthy country, to the Imperial treasury \*, the rest being left to themselves. The English, at present, collect the revenues, and make the distribution, giving, both to the emperor, and to the nabob, no more than they choose to spare, and leaving to the latter only the outward semblance of authority.

Every district has its own governor, under the denomination of *fauzdar*, who must render account of his administration to the nabob.

These again appoint in every town or village a *zemindar*, who rules over the place, and part of the circumjacent country, and settles all differences which arise between the inhabitants.

\* We have no particular account of the amounts paid into the Imperial treasury, from the province of *Bengal*, except one, of the year 1707, when the empire was in its most flourishing state, under the famous **AURENGZEBE**. The revenue from the subâh of *Bengal* was then 524,636,240 dams, making at forty dams, and 2s. 6d. per rupee, 1,69,488L 5s. sterling. The whole of the revenues from all the provinces, then amounted to 12,071,876,840 dams, or 37,724,615L 2s. 6d. sterling. T.

The only current coins in *Bengal*, and in the whole extent of *Indostan*, are gold and silver rupees. All foreign gold and silver, whether coined, or in bullion, is carried to the mint, and transformed into rupees, which are stamped with Persian letters instead of any portrait, or arms,

They decrease every year in value, and at the end of nine years, the *sicca* rupees are taken at the same rate as *Arcot* rupees.

When the rupees first come from the mint, they are called *sicca* rupees of the first year. Those which are coined at *Moorshedabad* are the current coin in which the trade of the Company is carried on, and by which all the other rupees in circulation here, are reduced. It is divided into sixteen *annas*; its intrinsic value in Dutch money, is one gilder, four stivers and a half, and it is taken in the Company's books at twenty-five stivers; but in Indian currency, at thirty-one stivers and a half, for which it is current at *Hougly* \*. It is the money of account, according

\* In Sir ISAAC NEWTON's table of the assays, weights, and values of foreign silver and gold coins, made at the Mint, by

cording to which the value of the other rupees are calculated, at a discount, or agio, which is called *batta*, of from six to twelve per cent, which undergoes continual fluctuations, by the management of the money-changers. The *Arcot* rupees, which are coined by the English at *Arcot*, and by the French at *Pondicherry*, go for thirty stivers \*, yet the last are reckoned from one to three per cent better than the former.

The gold rupee, which is called *mohur*, is worth fifteen silver *sicca* rupees.

Halves, fourths, eighths, and sixteenths of rupees, are likewise coined ; the last, as above said, are called *annas*.

Copper coin is not seen in *Bengal*. For change they make use of the small seashells, called cowries, eighty of which make a

by order of the privy-council, before the year 1717, the assay of the rupee is stated at  $16\frac{1}{2}$  dwts. better than standard ; its weight, at 7 dwts. 13. gr.; its standard weight, at 8 dwts. 2 gr. 453 pts.; and its intrinsic value at 24 d. or. The English generally compute it to be currently worth 2s. 6d. sterling. T.

\* According to RICAUD, the *Arcot* are six per cent less in value than *sicca* rupees. Besides these, the *Bombay* and *Madras* rupees, are current in *Bengal*, and are three per cent below the standard, or *sicca* rupee. T.

*poni*; and sixty, or sixty-five *ponis*, according as there are few or many cowries in the country, make a rupee \*. They come from the *Maldivé* islands. The money-changers sit upon all the *bazars* with quantities of them, to furnish the lower orders with change, for the purchase of necessaries. One hundred thousand rupees make what is called a *lack*, and one hundred *lacks*, or ten millions of rupees, a *crore*.

Weights in *Bengal*, are calculated by *maunds*, of which there are three sorts; all however, divided by forty *seer*, or eight *paans seer*. At *Hougly*, or *Chinsurah*, the *maund kalsab*, or Company's *maund*, weighs sixty-eight pounds *Amsterdam*; the *maund bazar*, seventy-six; and the *maund pakka*, seventy-seven.

Two peculiar *maunds* are used at *Cossimbazar*; namely, the *maund ssitbur*, for the silk-trade, which weighs seventy-two pounds, and the *muts maund*, which contains the

\* There is a great variation in the value of cowries in *Bengal*; RICAUD says, 2,560 make a rupee; BOLTS, 4,000 to 4,800; and our author, 4,800, to 5,200. The cheapness of provisions in *Bengal*, makes it convenient to have so very low a medium, for dealings among the poor. T.

weight of three thousand two hundred sicca rupees.

A *seer kalsab* is  $1\frac{7}{16}$  lb.; a *seer bazar*,  $1\frac{9}{16}$ ; and a *seer pakka*  $1\frac{11}{16}$ .

Weights made of stones are used for weighing by *seers*, which is the general medium of sale of almost every thing, even vegetables and milk not excepted.

The measures of length, are *cobidos*, and *ges*, or *goss*. At *Chinsurah*, a *cobido* is one foot five inches Rhineland measure \*. The general length of the *cobido*, is taken to be from the elbow of a full grown man, to the tip of the middle finger, in the same manner as the cubit of the ancients. A *ges*, or *goss*, is two *cobidos*, being, at *Chinsurah*, two feet and ten inches Rhineland measure. The *cobido*, is the universal measure of length, all over the west of India.

Distances between places, are measured by *cos*; five *cos*, are equal to about two Dutch miles †.

\* The *cobido* in *Bengal* is, as near as possible  $\frac{33}{4}$  of an English yard; the exact proportion is, that 7,278 *cobidos* make 3,773 yards. T.

† The *cos* in *Bengal* is generally taken, by the English, to be about two miles; in the upper parts of *Indostan* it is only about one and a half. T.

The day and night, are here divided into four quarters, each of six hours, and these again into fifteen parts, of twenty-four minutes each. For a chronometer, they use a kind of dish of thin brass, at the bottom of which there is a little hole : this is put into a vessel or large pot with water ; and it runs full in a certain time. They begin their first quarter at six o'clock in the morning. They strike the quarters and subdivisions of time, with a wooden hammer, upon a flat piece of iron, or steel, of about ten inches in diameter, which is called a *garnial*, and gives a pretty smart sound, which can be heard at some distance. The quarters are first struck, and then as many times as the brass dish has run full, in that quarter. None but the chief men of a district are allowed to have a *garnial*, and still they may not strike the first division of the first quarter, which is a privilege reserved to the nabob alone. Those who attend at these clocks, must be of the brahmin caste.

The vessels which are used for inland navigation, on the *Ganges*, are very lightly built of thin deals, without either keel or side-timbers. The edges of the planks are fastened

fastened together with staples, and the seams are stopped up with moss, and payed with grease. The largest width of them is about one-third of their whole length from the stern, where they run up with a bend; they are very sharp forwards, and are not very high above the water. Although they are of different sizes, they are all of the same shape and construction; and some of them can load fifty thousand pounds weight of merchandize, and more \*.

The boats used by the Europeans, as well as by the natives of consideration, for travelling, are called *budgerows*. On the outside they have the same construction with the former, but within, they are calculated for convenience. The space from the mid-

\* These boats are called *burs* in *Bengal*; they are rude barks, and have a single mast, with a large square sail; they take in a great quantity of water from the sides and bottoms, which compels the crew to employ some people continually in baling. They are used for the carriage of cotton, and other bulky materials, the weights of which cannot bear any proportion to their size. In common with all the other boats of the country, their bottoms are nearly flat; indeed it would be impracticable, on the *Ganges*, to employ vessels calculated to draw any considerable quantity of water, as the navigation is rendered extremely dangerous, from the sands being continually shifting. T.

dle to the stern, is occupied by one or two apartments, having windows on the sides ; these rooms are from six to seven feet in height, and are as commodious as if they were in a house. The sternmost of them, is the bedroom. The *budgerows* are of various sizes, from twenty-five to sixty feet in length, and longer. They are rowed, as the former are, by from six to twenty men. The oars are long poles, to the end of which a little oval board is nailed, in lieu of a leaf; they do not strike the water cross ways, but obliquely backwards. Some-what more forwards stands a mast, upon which a square sail is hoisted, when they go before the wind ; when they have a side-wind, they drive down athwart the stream, not having a keel, or timber enough under water, being flatbottomed, and drawing scarcely a foot, or a foot and a half \*.

They

\* The *budgerows* are steered by a large paddle, or oar, extending ten feet from the stern ; and besides the mast mentioned in the text, they have likewise a topmast, with a square topsail, for fine weather. The English gentlemen in *Bengal*, have made great improvements in the *budgerows*, by introducing a broad flat floor, square sterns, and broad bows. They thereby are rendered much safer, sail near, and keep their

They have another kind of boats, which they call *pulwabs*. These are very long, low, and narrow; they are not calculated for the conveyance of goods: they are sculled instead of being rowed, and they are very expeditious for passing from one place to another \*.

At

their wind; and there is no danger attending their taking the ground; they are besides calculated to carry more sail. T.

\* A gentleman in his *budgerow*, is usually attended by a *pulwab*, for the accommodation of the kitchen, and a smaller boat, which is called a *paunchway*, and is destined to convey him either on shore, or on board, as it frequently happens that the *budgerow* cannot come close to the place where he wishes to land, or to embark. These boats move more expeditiously than the *budgerows*; but the *paunchways* are nearly of the same general construction, with this difference, that the greatest breadth is somewhat farther aft, and the stern lower. Another boat of this country, which is very curiously constructed, is called a *moorpunkey*: these are very long and narrow, sometimes extending to upwards of an hundred feet in length, and not more than eight feet in breadth; they are always paddled, sometimes by forty men, and are steered by a large paddle from the stern, which rises either in the shape of a peacock, a snake, or some other animal; the paddlers are directed by a man who stands up, and sometimes makes use of a branch of a plant, to regulate their motions, using much gesticulation, and telling his story, to excite either laughter, or exertion. In one part of the stern is a canopy supported by pillars, in which are seated the owner and his friends, who partake of the refreshing breezes of the evening: these boats

At land, the general conveyance of passengers is by *palankeens*, which are a sort of litters. For carrying goods, carts of a very simple construction are made use of; they are drawn by oxen, or buffaloes \*. But the transporting of goods is mostly effected by water, through the numerous channels and creeks, with which the country is intersected.

Among the land-animals which are found here, the elephant holds the first rank, on account of its size. I saw four of these unwieldy creatures at *Hougly*, who were full twelve feet in height. Each of them had a conductor, who sat upon the neck, and was able, with a short iron hook which he held in his hand, together with his voice, to govern the huge animal at pleasure.

Tigers are very numerous in the woods, and they often sally out into the inhabited places. I saw some of them, which were kept, in wooden cages, by the English at

are very expensive, owing to the beautiful decorations of painted and gilt ornaments, which are highly varnished, and exhibit a considerable degree of taste. T.

\* These carts are called *bakkeries*; they run upon two wheels, and have a covering. T.

*Calcutta*, of the size of a large calf. The great men of the land take much pleasure in making them fight with other animals, elephants and buffaloes.

There are likewise a vast number of wild buffaloes in the woods ; they are much larger and fiercer than bulls ; they have horns of full five feet in length, and it is very dangerous to meet with them, if not provided with firearms. Even then, if one has the misfortune not to kill them outright, the danger is still greater, unless a neighbouring tree, into which the man must instantly climb, offer its friendly protection. The crew of my ship killed several of them at *Ingellee* ; their flesh is tolerably good eating, and the females, when they are tamed, are milked like cows ; yet their milk is not esteemed wholesome, being supposed to be heating and acrimonious.

Jackals are a sort of wild dogs, somewhat larger than a common spaniel ; they have a thick head, and a sharp nose ; their fur is brown, and the hair long ; they have a thick and rough tail, which hangs down ; they do not run fast, unless when hunted. The woods swarm with them ; they come

down to the sides of the river, towards the evening, and feed upon the carrion, and the dead bodies which are neither burnt nor buried, and which, if they were to remain there, would fill the air with putrid effluviæ, and be the occasion of pestilential disorders. The Indian name for these animals is *chakal*. Their cry is like that of a human being.

Snakes, of all kinds, abound in the fields, and in the old buildings. It is therefore very dangerous, in damp weather, to walk in the grass, where their insidious folds lie concealed from the eye of the unware passenger. If they are unfortunately trod upon, they are sure to bite the offender; but if one of the serpent-charmers be immediately at hand, by suffering a little pain, a cure is soon effected; without their assistance, death is often the consequence.

Scorpions, centipedes, and a great many other insects, are likewise pretty abundant. The most troublesome of all, are the flies, gnats, and bugs, which torment the inhabitants, both day and night.

Great numbers of birds of prey are also seen here. Among them, a kind of eagle is

is the most remarkable for size. They feed upon nothing but dead carcases. There are likewise astonishing numbers of birds of prey, which are about the size of a kite, and so bold, that, in flying, they will pounce down, and snatch a piece of meat, or bread, out of the hands of a man: I saw them frequently do this to the children of the house where I lived. As well as the jackals, they are of great benefit in this country, by devouring the carrion.

There are but very few different sorts of fish in the rivers: one called the baldhead is thought to be the best tasted.

There are likewise crocodiles, or alligators, but which are not, in general, very large.

The Bengalese and Moors have each a distinct language and writing. That of the latter has much analogy with the Persian, and is the language of the court.

The chief articles of commerce which the country yields, are silk, muslins, callicoes, cottons, and other piecegoods; opium, saltpetre, and gumlack. Others, such as wheat, rice, butter, &c. can only be reckoned casual branches of trade.

Silk is chiefly prepared in the neighbourhood of *Cossimbazar*. The manner of collecting is as follows: at the time of the year when it is thought the fittest for the silkworm to begin its labours, the eggs which were preserved from the last season, upon a piece of white cotton, are exposed to the rays of the sun. As soon as the worms are hatched, they are put upon another white piece of cotton, with a mat under it, and laid under cover; they are then furnished every day with fresh leaves of a sort of mulberry-tree, called here *toot*, the fruit of which is not fit to be eaten. They do not suffer the plants of this tree to shoot up more than three or four feet, whereby they prevent the leaves from growing hard, of which the consequence would be, that the silk would be coarser, and of an inferior quality.

In the mean time, a round mat is prepared, which has a slip, or border, of about two inches deep, standing upright upon it, encircling first its outer edge, and then running in a spiral direction, to the center, leaving an intermediate space of about an inch and a half.

As soon as they perceive that a worm is about to spin, they take it away from the others, and put it upon this mat, between the borders, where it spins its ball, or cocoon, which is afterwards reeled off in warm water.

The nymphæ which come from the cocoons that are reeled off, are not thought fit for preserving the eggs of them ; but those which they keep for that purpose, are suffered, when they become moths, to eat their way through the balls ; and of these perforated cocoons they make an inferior kind of silk, called floret.

The materials from which their piecegoods are wove, is the *capok*, or cotton. It grows upon a shrub, or tree, which is cultivated in very great abundance, in this country, though yet not in sufficient quantities for all the piecegoods which are annually manufactured here ; for much of it is brought hither from *Surat*. Some kinds of piecegoods, likewise, require two different sorts of *capok*.

The *capok* is stretched with a wire, upon an arched piece of wood, like a bow, cleaned from all its impurities, spun by the women

men into yarn, and finally woven into piece-goods of various denominations by the men.

The weaving manufactories are dispersed throughout the country, and are call *au-rungs*. A distinct kind is wove in every district.

Printed cottons, commonly called chintzes, are not manufactured here, but on the coast of *Coromandel*; except near *Patna*, in the province of *Babar*, whence some of them come, which are called, from the name of the place, *Patna* chintzes.

The finest muslins and cottons are made about *Dacca*, where likewise the finest *capok* is produced.

Opium is a very important production, both for the inland trade, and that which is carried on by sea, to the coast of *Coromandel*, and *Batavia*. It is not, in fact, produced in *Bengal*, but in *Bahar*, which borders upon the former; but all that is exported, comes down the *Ganges*, through *Bengal*. More than one hundred thousand pounds weight of this drug is annually shipped by our Company's vessels, and is consumed at *Java*, the *Moluccas*, and other places in the eastern part of *Asia*. The natives of all those

those countries are very fond of it, smoking it together with their tobacco, or chewing it unmixed.

The mode in which it is collected is as follows : the seed is sown in the month of October, in a soil which has been specially prepared for the purpose, not without much trouble.

A fortnight or three weeks afterwards, some of the seeds are dug up, in order to see whether they have already germinated and struck root ; if this be the case, they begin to water the fields, which are all cut through with furrows, conveying the moisture to every part.

When the bulbous root of the plant begins to arrive at maturity, which only happens after the petals of the flowers have fallen, the planter daily examines one of the poorest roots, to see whether they are ripe enough for collecting the sap ; for this purpose he makes use of a little sharp knife, with which, in the morning, he makes an incision in the bulb, and if he find, in the evening, that a gummy sap, the opium, have exuded from it, it is a sign that the roots are sufficiently ripe. Hereupon, men, women, and children,

dren, for an incredible number of people are employed in this work, resort to the opium-fields, in order to open the bulbs. They take them in the hollow of the hand, holding them fast by the stalk between the fingers, and make the incision, yet with great precaution, that the inner membrane be not wounded, for then the root dies instantly. After having thus cut open the roots in the evening, they all return, early the next morning, to the field, each with a little pot, and gently scrape off, with a little shell, the congealed sap, which has extilled from the bulb, into the pot, giving another cut in the root, the produce of which they again collect in the evening.

If the roots be fine and large, the incision can be repeated three or four times.

The sap, which is collected both morning and evening, is delivered to the proprietor of the field, upon the return of the labourers ; and it is then put all together into large tubs, where it purifies itself by fermentation.

The collection of the opium takes place in the months of January and February.

A piece

A piece of land of ten rood square \*, is generally estimated to yield five or six pounds weight of opium, and affords a great profit to the planter.

When the sap has done fermenting, and has attained a proper degree of consistence, it is made into cakes. The leaves of trees, which have fallen, are then collected from the ground, and after being wetted, one by one, are stuck together, about the size of a common plate: the gummy substance is next taken up by the hands, laid upon the leaves, three or four inches thick, and covered over with the same leaves.

It is then carried to the factory, where it is narrowly examined, assorted, and packed in square boxes, which are lined with leather; these are then embaled in *goenje* †, weighed, the gross weight marked upon them, and sent down from *Patna* to *Hougly*, or *Chinsurah*. They are weighed here again, without unpacking them; and if they are found to weigh two or three

\* A rood is the fourth part of an acre. T.

† A kind of coarse and strong cloth, or canvas, like carpeting, used for embaling of goods. T.

pounds less than at *Patna*, they are approved of; for opium always dries up, and becomes lighter; but if they are heavier, it is a sign that they have received damage from water, during the passage down, and they are then unpacked, and assort'd anew, before they are shipped to *Batavia*.

A gentleman who had resided many years at *Patna*, and from whom I obtained the above particulars, told me, that the quantity of this drug collected annually in *Babar*, amounted to fifteen thousand maunds, which make upwards of one million of pounds; the largest part of which is employed in the inland trade, and is conveyed by land-carriage from *Indostan*, to almost every part of *Asia*.

*Saltpetre* is likewise a principal article, which is annually exported from *Bengal*, and is equally produced in the province of *Babar*. It is a natural salt, thrown up out of the ground, and, being mixed with earth, it is taken in this state, put into large troughs, water poured upon it, and stirred about, till the nitrous particles are dissolved: the water, thus impregnated, is drawn off, and

and being boiled in large pans, the moisture evaporates, and leaves the saltpetre behind ; which is then, without farther preparation, put into bags to be shipped off.

In the year 1770, full two millions and a half pounds weight, of this article, was exported by the six ships of our Company, which sailed from *Bengal*, in that year, three bound to *Batavia*, and three to *Holland*.

Gumlack is produced from a sort of small insects, which are not unlike flying ants. Much of it is collected in the most eastern parts of *Bengal*, and in the kingdom of *Pegu*. The inhabitants stick little twigs in the earth, upon which these insects alight in large quantities, and leave a viscid juice behind them, with which the whole twig is covered. When this is hardened by the sun, it becomes a resinous gum, and when dissolved in water, affords a fine, bright, red colour ; it is used for dyeing of cottons, especially on the coast of *Coromandel*. When it is melted over the fire, and separated from the remains of the twigs, shellack is made of it, in flat thin pieces, which are esteemed

esteemed good, when they run down by drops, if set on fire.

The articles which are disposed of to advantage in *Bengal*, are all kinds of spices, pepper, japan copper, sandalwood, and sa-pau-wood ; likewise tin, lead, pewter, and other European commodities.

## CHAPTER V.

*European Nations in BENGAL.—The English.—Events which gave Rise to their Power here.—Battle of Plassey.—Anecdote of Lord CLIVE.—Their Revenues.—Government.—Fortunes made by Individuals.—Oppression of the Natives.—Description of CALCUTTA.—Fort WILLIAM.—Their other Fortifications and great Strength.—Misunderstanding between the English and Dutch.—Misconduct of a Dutch Director.—The Dutch Factory.—Their Government.—Director.—Chief of COSSIMBAZAR.—Head-Administrator.—Superintendent in the Cloth-room.—Chief of the Military.—First Warehousekeeper.—Fiscal, or Sheriff.—Comptroller of Equipment.—Dispensier, or Purveyor.—Secretary.—Council of Justice.*

FOUR European nations have established themselves here, for the purposes of commerce; namely, the English, the Dutch, the French, and the Danes. The East-India Company of Ostend, had formerly a factory here, about two Dutch miles below ours, on the eastern bank of the *Ganges*, at a place called *Bankibazar*, but which,

after a long siege, having been taken by the Moors, in 1738, or 1739\*, the Ostend Company were obliged to abandon the trade of Bengal.

Of the four abovementioned European nations, the English are, at present, the principal; being, since their victories over the armies of the nabob, and the great Mogul, in a great measure, territorial sovereigns of the country: and they make use of their power, in this respect, to circumscribe, at pleasure, the trade of other nations.

Although they established a commercial intercourse with this country, at an early period, they made but an insignificant figure, in comparison with us, before the years 1755 and 1756, when their trade, after having been brought to the brink of destruction, rose, like a phoenix, out of its ashes; and their Company have since arrived at a pitch of power and prosperity in the western parts of India, equal to that of ours in the eastern. This great change proceeded from a very trifling circumstance, and one that seemed, on the contrary, to threaten their entire ruin.

\* This happened in the year 1748. T.

In the year 1756, the nabob of *Coffim-bazar*, or viceroy of *Bengal*, desiring to have some European goods, sent one of his officers, for that purpose, to the chief settlement of the English at *Calcutta*. The governor at that time, who was a man of a brutal and insolent disposition, instead of complying with the desire of the nabob, having some real, or imaginary, motives for dissatisfaction, had the envoy seized, tied to a stake, and flogged, sending him back to his master, without the things he came for \*.

This,

\* The transaction upon which this misrepresentation is founded, happened in the following manner: — SURAJAH DOWLAH, the new nabob of *Bengal*, one or two days after his accession, in the beginning of April, 1756, wrote a letter to the president of *Calcutta*, ordering him to deliver up a man who had taken refuge with the English from the known tyrannical disposition of the nabob, with his treasures. The bearer of this letter, came in a small boat, and landed in the disguise of a common pedlar. He immediately proceeded to the house of OMICHUND, a native merchant, who was strongly suspected of intriguing with the nabob, against the English. OMICHUND, as the governor, Mr. DRAKE, was absent, introduced him to Mr. HOLWELL, a member of the council who superintended the police of the town. The governor returning the next day, summoned a council, of which the majority being prepossessed against OMICHUND, concluded

This, as may easily be conceived, so much incensed the nabob, that he immediately

that the messenger was an engine prepared by himself to alarm them, and restore his own importance; the council resolved that both the messenger and his letter were too suspicious to be received; and the servants who were ordered to bid him depart, turned him out of the factory, and off the shore, with insolence and derision. It was not this circumstance alone that induced SURAJAH DOWLAH to attack *Calcutta*, but other causes of more importance; the determined disposition of the tyrant from the beginning to molest the English; the machinations of the French at his court; and ostensibly, a letter written by Mr. DRAKE, in answer to one from the nabob, signifying that he had been informed the English were building a wall, and digging a large ditch round *Calcutta*, and ordering him immediately to desist, and to destroy all the works which might have been added to the fortifications; in his reply, the governor, perhaps imprudently, wrote, "that the nabob had been misinformed by those who had represented to him that the English were building a wall, and digging a ditch round the town; that in the late war between England and France, the French had attacked and taken the town of *Madras*, contrary to the neutrality which it was expected would have been preserved in the Mogul's dominions; and that there being at present great appearance of another war between the two nations, the English apprehended that the French would act in the same manner in *Bengal*: to prevent which, they were repairing their line of guns on the bank of the river." It was upon receipt of this letter, on the 7th of May at *Rajamabel*, that the nabob instantly ordered his army to march back to *Cessimbazar*, where the English factory surrendered to him on the 4th of June; and on the 20th following, *Calcutta* was taken. T.

marched

marched with a body of troops, against *Calcutta*, took and plundered the place, and put to death several of the English, who had not been able to escape to their ships. From this beginning, proceeded the war, which the English afterwards waged with so much success, that they penetrated even as far as *Dekby*, the capital city of the great Mogul, made themselves masters of his person, and rendered a great part of this powerful empire, tributary to them ; more especially the kingdoms of *Bengal* and *Bahar*, where they are now absolute sovereigns \*.

The most important victory which they obtained, was that of *Plassey*, which decided the fate of these regions, and in which battle they were forced to combat an army of fifty thousand men, commanded by the vizier of the Mogul empire, *SURAJAH DOWLAH*, with scarcely five hundred Europeans, and a small number of *sipabis*. As there remained no alternative for this little body of men,

\* Perhaps the only apology to be offered for the conquests of the English in *Bengal*, is that of MARMONTEL for the Spaniards in *Peru*; pour renoncer à la conquête il eût fallu une sagesse que les peuples n'ont jamais eues, & que les rois ont rarement. T.

than to conquer or die, they fought with the intrepidity of despair, and obtained a complete victory \*.

General CLIVE, who should have been the leader of the English troops in this battle, left the command to Colonel COOTE, and remained hid in his palankeen, during the combat, out of the reach of the shot, and did not make his appearance before the enemy were put to flight. Several English officers, who were present at the battle, related this anecdote to me †.

Of

\* The battle of *Plassey* was fought on the 24th of June, 1757; the army of the nabob consisted of about 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and 53 pieces of cannon. The numbers of the little body opposed to this multitude, were 900 Europeans, of whom 100 were artillery-men, and 50 sailors, and 2,100 sepoys, with eight fieldpieces, and two howitzers. T.

† This improbable tale, which has been told in various ways, owes its origin to the following circumstance, which occurred during the cannonade preceding the rout, and is related by Mr. ORM, in giving a circumstantial account of this battle, in his *History of Military Transactions in Indostan*, vol. ii. page 175, in these words:—"About two o'clock, the enemy ceased the cannonade, and were perceived yoking the trains of oxen to their artillery, and as soon as these were in motion, their whole army turned, and proceeded towards their camp. But Sinfray" (the commander of about 40 Frenchmen), "with his party and fieldpieces, still maintained his post at the tank;

Of the immense annual revenue, which they draw from these wealthy provinces, they pay twenty-five lacks of rupees to the Mogul and nabob, and retain the remainder, which amounts to more than as much again, for themselves \*. A great part hereof, however,

" tank ; this was a good station to cannonade the enemy from, during their retreat ; and Major Kilpatrick advanced with two companies of the battallion, and two fieldpieces, towards the tank, and sent information of his intention, and the reason of it, to his commander, who chanced at this time to be lying down in the hunting-house" (a seat of the nabob, close to the field of batle). " Some say he was asleep ; which is not improbable, considering his exertions during the preceding day and night ; but this is no imputation either against his courage or conduct. Starting up, he ran immediately to the detachment, reprimanded Kilpatrick sharply for acting without his orders ; and then proceeded himself with the detachment to the tank, which Sinfray abandoned, and retreated to the redoubts of the intrenchment." This was followed by the most intrepid and active exertions of Colonel CLIVE, and a most decisive and important victory, by which the whole of the enemy's camp, their artillery, elephants, &c. fell into the hands of the English, who lost no more than about 20 Europeans, and 52 sepoys, killed and wounded.

\* The revenues of *Bengal*, and the advantages resulting to the Company and the country from our acquisitions there, are topics, on which much has been written, more has been said, and but very little understood. From one and a half to two millions pounds sterling, is probably the nearest calcu-

ever, if not the whole, is absorbed by the expences of their military establishment, which is a very strong one. In the year 1770, they had about four thousand European soldiers, and thirty-five, or forty thousand, *sipahis*, in pay.

Although they are, in fact, sovereigns of the country, and receive the revenues arising from it, they are, however, wise enough not to shew this openly. The Mogul retains a shadow of authority, and the land is governed, as before, in his name, by a nabob, who is, however, appointed by the English, and dares not undertake any thing without their knowledge. For the purpose of keeping him under their controul, one of the members of their government, the second in the council of *Calcutta*, is always near his person, and presides in his council. By this means, no measures are adopted by the nabob, but such as are consonant with the views of the council of *Calcutta*. The gentleman who fills this important office, is called the resident at the *Durbar*, by which is understood the

Iation of the nett receipts of the Company, which are employed in the China-trade, and in investments in piecegoods to this country. 7.

Moorish council, and his influence and authority are so great, that the title of nabob, or viceroy, ought rather to be given to him, than to the nominal nabob ; for the latter is obliged to wait upon the resident every morning, to inform him of the occurrences of the preceding day. He is received without ceremony, and if the resident be occupied, must wait till he have leisure to afford an audience.

It may easily be conceived, how ill this agrees with the pride of the orientals, who would not before permit the approach of any European, but in the most humble and respectful manner.

The office of resident at the *Durbar*, is not only very honourable, but it is likewise one of the most lucrative. Three or four years' enjoyment of it, is sufficient for the accumulation of a princely fortune.

In the year 1767, one of these residents returned to Europe with a fortune of nine millions of gilders ; which he had obtained by his dexterous management of affairs, during the three years which he had filled this office.

When Lord CLIVE returned to England  
for

for the last time, he carried away, as it is said, a crore of rupees; which is fifteen millions of gilders.

The yoke of servitude, which the English have thus imposed upon the Moors, is not borne very patiently by them. On the contrary, they would do every thing in their power, to deliver themselves from their tyrants, if these were not so firmly established here. The only hope which remains for them, is, that if the land be wholly exhausted, the English will no more hold the means of maintaining themselves in their possessions. The unfortunate Bengalese are still worse off ; they are first oppressed by the Moors, and afterwards by the English ; and yet it is their manual labour that has purchased all the immense riches, which have been drawn, from time immemorial, both by their neighbours in Asia, and their visitors from Europe, and have successively swelled the treasures of the Great Mogul, of their nabobs, and of the English East-India Company. They work for a mere trifle, and live frugally upon a little rice, and some vegetables. Nothing, or very little of the specie that is imported, goes out of the country

try again, as the materials for their manufactures are produced in the land, except some *capok*, which is brought from *Surat*. These poor people, who contribute so much to the prosperity of the country, instead of being favoured and encouraged by the English, are, on the contrary, continually exposed to the rapacious extortions of their taskmasters, and are oppressed in every way, partly by open violence, and partly by monopolies, which the English have made of all articles necessary to life; the dried cowdung even not excepted, which these poor people use for fuel. But this is not so much to be ascribed to the English Company, as to their servants, who leave no means untried, to accumulate wealth. They do not trouble themselves about the manner of obtaining it, so they do but speedily amass the riches they are in search of. Instead of preventing these monopolies, which were, in a great measure, the cause of the scarcity of provisions which was felt in the spring of 1770, the English government at *Calcutta*, suffer them to exist unnoticed and unremedied; and it has, in consequence, not been im-  
probably

probably suspected, that they are themselves concerned in these iniquitous transactions.

The government of this presidency, consists of, a governor, who is entirely independent of those at *Madras* and *Bombay*, and ten members of the council, the second of whom, who is the resident at the *Durbar*, seldom assists at their deliberations. The general, or chief, of the military, is the third in rank ; he is independent of the governor, and is only amenable to the council. The fourth member, is the second in the superintendence of the police at *Calcutta* ; and others have each equally a particular separate office.

The governor does not possess near so much authority and power, as the Dutch governors, or directors, exercise in their governments. Nor is the subordination half so strict in the English settlements, as in ours. The servants of the English Company have likewise the advantage, that they are sure, in cases of vacancy, to be promoted in rank, according to the number of years they have been in the service. Promotions do not depend, as is the case with our Company, upon the favour of the chiefs, whereby,

by, with us, it frequently happens, that deserving men, who have served the Company for many years, with diligence and honour, are passed over without notice, for want of influence, and of friends.

*Calcutta*, or *Coulicatta*, as it is called by the Moors, is the capital of the English in *Bengal*; although unwalled, it may justly deserve the name of a city, from its extent and numerous buildings \*.

It lies on the eastern bank of the *Ganges*, about thirteen Dutch miles below *Chinsurah*, and nearly thirty from the mouth of the river at *Ingellee*.

The *Ganges* is here full as broad as before our factory, but it is much deeper, and navigable at all times for large sea-ships. All their ships lie before the town, anchored close to the shore, which is very steep, owing to the rapid currents running in the middle of the river; and the number of vessels seen here continually passing and repassing from all parts of India, give *Calcutta* the appear-

\* In Holland, every place that is not fortified, or walled round, is called a village; hence the ridiculous assertion so frequently to be met with, that the *Hague* is the largest village in Europe; it is, in fact, a large and flourishing town; *London* might, in the same manner, be called a village. T.

ance of what it really is, a place of great wealth and commerce.

The buildings of the place extend full three miles along the river, and about half as much in breadth from it. There are many large and handsome edifices among them, which do not add a little to the beauty of the town. They would have a better effect, if they were built as regularly as at *Batavia*; but little symmetry or order has been observed in laying out the streets.

In the middle of the city, a large open place has been left, in which there is a great tank or reservoir, covering upwards of twenty-five acres of ground. It was dug by order of the government, to provide the inhabitants of *Calcutta* with water, as in the dry season the water of the *Ganges* becomes brackish by the influx of the tide, while that in the tank is, on the contrary, very sweet and pleasant. The number of springs which it contains, make the water in it always nearly at the same level. It is railed round, no one may wash in it, but all are at liberty to take as much water from it as they like.

Near this tank, is a stone monument, erected

erected in memory of thirty English prisoners, both men and women, who, when *Calcutta* was taken by the nabob SURAJAH DOWLAH, were shut up in a narrow prison, without any refreshment, and suffocated for want of fresh air \*.

A little farther is the courthouse, over which are two handsome assembly-rooms. In one of these are hung up the portraits of the king of France, and of the late queen, as large as life, which were brought by the English from *Chandernagore*, when they took that place, in the last war.

\* The reader need scarcely be informed, that this mutilated account relates to the well-known tragic event, at the reduction of *Calcutta*, of the suffocation of 123, out of 146 English prisoners, in the *black hole prison*. The scene of this horrid transaction has become proverbial among Englishmen for a place of insufferable torment, and together with the inhuman tyrant, SURAJAH DOWLAH, by whose order our countrymen were devoted to this cruel death, both

— damned to everlasting fame,

cannot be mentioned but with execration and horror. The monument, which was erected by Mr. HOLWELL, one of the few survivors, and whose narrative of his sufferings is in every body's hands, is a handsome obelisk, about fifty feet high, inscribed with the names of the persons who died in the black-hole, and whose bodies were promiscuously thrown, the next morning, into the ditch of the fort. 7.

Close

Close to the courthouse, stands a theatre, where plays are sometimes performed by amateurs.

Higher up, is an Armenian church, which is a large and noble building, provided with a handsome steeple.

There was not, when I was there, any English church; but preparations were making for building one, and the necessary materials had been collected.

On the side of the open place, before mentioned, between it and the river, is the old fort, of which nothing remains at present but the walls.

The new fort, which is called Fort *William*, and whence all the letters and resolutions of the presidency are dated, is situated about a quarter of an hour's walk from the city, by the side of the *Ganges*, in an extensive plain. It was begun to be built in the year 1757, when the English had regained possession of *Calcutta*. It is a regular pentagon, with several outworks. The ramparts are built of brick, half way up, finished with clay, and faced with gazons. Both the body of the fortress and the outworks, are surrounded by a wet ditch, which has

has a small cunette, of six or seven feet deep, in the middle. The water from the *Ganges*, can be let into the moat, to the height of eight feet, by means of floodgates, of which there are two to each outwork, constructed in such a manner, that if an enemy be masters of one, they cannot prevent, both the main ditch, and those of the other outworks, from retaining their water.

If all the works were mounted with cannon, there would be room for six hundred pieces of artillery.

There are bombproof barracks built within the fort, for ten thousand men. Permission has likewise been given to every inhabitant of *Calcutta*, to build, if he choose it, a house in the fort, provided it be equally bombproof ; but in the year 1770, no one had yet felt any inclination to avail of this privilege.

All the works are guarded by mines and countermines. No ship can pass up or down the *Ganges* without being exposed to the fire of this fort. No enemy can approach by land, without being discerned at three or four leagues' distance.

The plan of this fortification was made by

an engineer, of the name of BOYER, who, for some reason of discontent, left the English service, and entered into that of our Company. Another engineer was afterwards sent out from England, to finish it.

Close to the fort, the English were about digging a dry dock, which will be the only one which the Europeans have in India.

They were likewise busy in constructing two batteries of heavy cannon, on the banks of the river, about two leagues below *Calcutta*, one on each side. I was also told, that they intended to erect one, at the confluence of the *Old Ganges* with *Houghly* river, in order to be wholly masters of the navigation of the *Ganges*.

This nation have thus so firmly rooted themselves in *Bengal*, that, treachery excepted, they have little to fear from an European enemy, especially as they can entirely command the passage up and down the river.

If they ever lose their power here, their fall will, in all probability, proceed from the heavy expences, which they sustain, in keeping up so important a military establishment, and which they cannot do without, in order

to

to keep the natives in subjection, and prevent insurrections. By this means, however, they will, in time, exhaust the resources of the country, which appears the more likely, if we further take into consideration the extortions of their servants.

Since the unfortunate issue of our expedition to *Bengal*, in 1759, the reputation of our countrymen has been on the decline; and we are obliged to be not a little dependent upon the English, with respect to the piece-goods wanted for our cargoes, both for *Batavia*, and for *Holland*. In the beginning of the government of the director V—, in the year 1765, or 1766, when Lord CLIVE was still in *Bengal*, every thing seemed to take a friendly aspect, and arrangements respecting trade were about to be made, to mutual satisfaction and advantage. Both these gentlemen came to an agreement, that all the *aurungs*, or weaving manufactories, in *Bengal*, should be numbered, in order that a repartition might afterwards be made of so many *aurungs* to each nation, for the purpose of weaving the goods they wanted; and two commissaries were appointed, to this end, respectively, by the English, the Dutch, and the French, to go

through the whole country, and ascertain the number of manufactories. From our settlement, the first warehouskeeper, Ross, and a bookkeeper, were deputed for this purpose.

But these excellent arrangements were all broken, by the departure of Lord CLIVE from *Bengal*; his lordship was succeeded by Mr. VERELST, with whom the director V—— shortly afterwards fell out, and their disagreement was carried to that point, that upon paying the customary annual national visit to *Calcutta*, Mr. V—— was treated in a most improper and humiliating manner; whence, in the end, so great a breach arose between these two chiefs, that the above arrangements were, much to our prejudice, entirely set aside.

The English had equally, on their sides, much reason to be discontented with Mr. V——, as he had used his utmost endeavours to favour the French in all things, notwithstanding they had no power to render our Company any service, or even to help themselves; and the English were much hurt at this conduct, especially at Mr. V——'s selling all the japan copper, which the Dutch ships brought to *Bengal*,  
to

to the French, without allowing them the opportunity of purchasing a single pound, for a considerable time, although they offered a higher price than was obtained from the French.

This was evidently, not only unfriendly, but wholly incompatible with the interests of the Company; which appears the more strongly, if we consider that, upon the least difference with the Moors, the council at *Hougly* were obliged to have recourse to the mediation and protection of the government at *Calcutta*, as was the case, two or three times, while I was in *Bengal*.

The Dutch began to trade in *Bengal*, as early as the commencement of the last century; they were always the first in opulence and importance, till the English became the rulers of the country, in the last revolution; and perhaps they would still have been so, had the well planned, but badly executed attempt, made, as before-mentioned, during the administration of the governor general *Moszel*, in 1759, succeeded to our wishes \*.

Our

\* The expedition alluded to, though formally disavowed by the Dutch government, upon its not succeeding, is here

Our factory here, is subordinate to the government at *Batavia*, and receives orders from that place respecting the management of the trade. It is from *Batavia*, likewise, that all vacancies are filled up; the council of *Hougly* can only appoint *ad interim*; but the confirmation must come from the metropolis of India.

Orders and letters are, however, received at *Chinsurah* direct from *Hoiland*, whither, likewise, advices are annually dispatched.

The government consists of a director, and seven members, five of whom have concluding voices, and the other two may only advise, but not vote. There is, besides, a chief at *Cossimbazar*.

The director, who has, of course, the chief

pretty clearly acknowledged to have been intended, for the purpose of depriving the English, of their superiority in *Bengal*. They sent seven ships, three of thirty-six guns, three of twenty-six, and one of sixteen, with about 1,100 European and Malay troops, from *Batavia*; who attempting to pass up the *Ganges* to *Chinsurah*, the seven Dutch ships were fought and captured by three English armed Indianmen, and the troops were encountered, and totally defeated by Colonel *Fox*, with 500 men. They pretended that these forces, were intended to reinforce their settlements, on the coast of *Coromandel*, but had been obliged to put into the *Ganges*. *T.*

authority

authority over the commerce, and the possessions of the Company, is styled, *the honourable Director of the Company's important trade in the kingdoms of Bengal, Babar, and Orixa.*

He is obliged, by his instructions, to submit all matters, which are of any importance, to the consideration of the council, and to come to a conclusion on the subject, by a majority of votes. But it seldom happens, that a resolution of council, is taken contrary to his inclination, for all the members are dependent upon him, with respect to the profits of their offices, as is the case throughout all India, both at the out-factories, and at *Batavia*, to the great detriment of the Company.

The emoluments attached to his office, amount to large sums ; for, besides a certain per centage, allowed on the sale of all goods which are imported \*, there are numerous

\* Five per cent upon the sale of goods imported, is divided, two-thirds to the director, and one-third to the second in command ; and five per cent is allowed on the purchase of opium, and divided, two-fifths to the director, one-fifth to the chief administrator, three-tenths to the chief at *Fatna*, and one-tenth to the second in command there. T.

other means of accumulating money, especially by his having large sums at his disposal, and being consequently enabled to make an immense profit by the employment of them ; so that it is impossible for any one, not even those who fill the first offices in the administration, to know what the director annually gains, which must be an immense amount, without taking into consideration his enormous expenditure. Mr. V—— assured me, that he wanted no less than thirty-five thousand rupees a year, for his household expences ; and this is but little, in comparison with some of his predecessors, and of the English governor at *Calcutta*, who spends more than one hundred thousand rupees, by his own account, and that of several of the English, who confirmed it to me. The director is the only person, in the Company's service, who is allowed to be carried in a palankeen fitting upon a chair ; even the director who is appointed to succeed another, cannot do this, as long the government is in the hands of the other. Military honours are shewn to him at the gate of the fort. Six or eight *chubdars*, or as many as he pleases, together with other attendants,

both

both *peons* \* and other servants, run before him. When he is carried, or rides through the town, the natives are obliged, at some places, to play upon their instruments of music, clarions and drums. *Chubbards* are Moorish servants, who are employed to carry messages, and for state ; they carry a long staff in their hand, which is entirely covered with silver, with which they go before the palankeens of the director, and of the two members of the council next in rank ; but the latter are allowed no more than two *chubbards*, and their staves may only be half plated with silver.

The second person in the direction is the chief at *Coffimbazar*. He has the rank of senior merchant, and the management and controul of the factory there, or rather at *Calcapore*, which is not far off. The Company's residents at the Mint, in *Moorshedabad*, where the silver is recoined, in the name of the emperor, are under him. He has a detachment of twenty-four men at his factory.

\* *Peons* are properly foot-soldiers, armed with a sword and target. Footmen, armed in the same manner, are likewise used for state, and to run before the palankeens. T.

The third person of the council, is the chief administrator. He has equally the rank of senior merchant, and is treated with the same respect as the chief at *Cossimbazar*, whose place in the council, when he is absent, is supplied by the former, as second in rank at the chief settlement, where he always remains. Every thing regarding commerce, and the warehouses, is entrusted to this officer, subject to the superior controul of the director.

A member of the council is likewise superintendant in the cloth-room, or walk, as it is called, which is the place where the Company's piecegoods are received from the Indian merchans, examined, assortd, and dispatched.

The assortment is made into four different classes, from best to bad, under the denominations of *duel*, *doom*, *feer*, and *firty*, and the examination and attestation of them, is done by the council, together with the director.

This office is one of the most profitable in the direction, when the Company take many goods. It is reckoned equal to that of a merchant.

The superintendent has a second under him, with the rank of junior merchant, together with three others, who are book-keepers or assistants, and have the direction of the packing of the goods. He has likewise several banyans, who possess more knowledge than all the rest, and by whom most of the business is done, although the others, and the council, have the name of it.

Their emoluments are divided in the following manner.—One rupee or thirty stivers, is allowed on the value of every hundred rupees purchased by the Company. Of this, eight stivers are given to the head administrator, eleven to the superintendent in the cloth-room, six to his second, two and a half to the first packer, one and a half to the second, and one to the third, making, together, thirty stivers, or one rupee.

The captain, or chief, of the military is also a member of the council; but he has no vote, and can only give his opinion. He has the rank of senior merchant, and follows immediately upon the head administrator. His income is small, and scarcely sufficient for his subsistence.

The first warehousekeeper, who is at the  
same

same time commercial bookkeeper, has the rank of merchant. All merchandize which are received into, or delivered out of, the warehouses, by order of the head administrator, are under his management ; as likewise the books that relate to trade.

The fiscal, or sheriff, who is, at the same time, mayor of the town, has the rank of merchant, as long as he is in that station, though he has only the pay and allowance of junior merchant.

As fiscal, he must take care that the Company's dues are not defrauded by the private trade of their servants, and as mayor, he determines all trifling disputes which arise among the natives, who live within the Company's limits. He punishes the offences which they commit, by flogging at a stake, or he imposes fines upon the offenders ; which last is, in fact, what is most frequently done, and hence his post becomes one of the chiefest and most lucrative of the settlement. Many instances were related to me, at *Chinsurah*, of extortions practised by fiscals, which almost exceed belief. They make the wealthy banyans pay twenty or thirty thousand rupees, for the slightest fault,

and

and if they do not provide the money soon enough, they are tied up, and whipped, till it is brought. He is called *jemaatdaar* by the natives, which is as much as mayor, or commandant.

His emoluments, as fiscal, are five per cent upon all goods, which are imported by private individuals, above the privileged tonnage, allowed by the Company to their ships' officers, and five per cent on all goods exported in private trade, whether privileged or not \*.

Upon an average he can make more than four thousand rupees by every ship; and as six ships come and go, in general, every year, his income, on this score, amounts to twenty-four thousand rupees.

The Indians stand, perhaps, more in awe of the fiscal, on account of his office, than of the director himself: and when he goes through the town, music is equally played in his honour as he passes, as well as for the director.

The comptroller of equipment has also a

\* One-half of the contraband goods which he seizes, is likewise the property of the fiscal, out of which, however, he must satisfy the informers. T.

seat in the council, but, as well as the commander of the military, he may only deliver his sentiments, but has no vote. If he be a ship's captain, he has the rank of merchant. His office is also none of the worst.

The dispensier, or purveyor in the Company's provision-warehouses, has the rank of junior merchant, and is invoice-keeper.

A secretary is added to the council, who is generally, at the same time, cashier. The latter office brings him in great profits, when he has any sums of consideration under his care, which is always the case, if he be on good terms with the director. He places this money, at an exorbitant interest, among the Indians. The secretary who was in office when I was there, had the rank of book-keeper, though it is otherwise an office generally filled by a junior merchant.

Besides this civil council, there is a council of justice, of which the head administrator is president. They pass sentences of death, subject to the confirmation of the government at *Patavia*, but they are not allowed by the Moorish government to carry them into execution, except within the walls  
of

of the Company's lodge, or on board of their  
ships.

Whoever has the rank of junior merchant,  
or higher, must be sent to *Batavia*, with the  
papers relative to the prosecution against him,  
notwithstanding sentence of death may have  
been pronounced upon him, by the council of  
justice here; as was the case, in the year  
1766, with Captain VAN DER LINDEN,  
commanding the ship *Kattendyk*, and his first  
lieutenant, WELGEVAREN.

The other members of the council of justice,  
are junior merchants, and there are two  
military officers among them. Their office  
is of little importance, or advantage.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The Company's Possessions in BENGAL.—CHINSURAH.—Buildings.—Markets.—Houses.—Church.—House called Welgeleegen, and Gardens.—The Company's Lodge, or Fort GUSTAVUS.—Company's Garden.—Church-yard.—Battery.—Freemason's Lodge.—HOUGLY.—Factory at PATNA.—Factory at DACCA.—BERNAGORE.—Establishment of the Company.*

THE territorial property of the Company in Bengal, is confined to the towns, or villages, of *Chinsurah* and *Bernagore*. These were obtained by gift, or rather by purchase, from the Moorish government.

They have, further, their lodges or factories at *Calcapore* near *Cossimbazar*, at *Patna*, and at *Dacca*; and they have likewise a guard of natives at *Ballafore*. They had formerly a factory at *Malda*, for the silk-trade; but this has been abandoned for several years.

*Chinsurah*, known in the records and papers of the Company, by the name of *Hougly*, lies

lies on the western bank of the *Ganges*, full forty leagues from its mouth at *Ingellee*, and about ninety from *Patna*. It is partly built along the river, and requires full three quarters of an hour to walk round it. On the landside, it is closed by strong barrier-gates. Within, it is built very irregularly. It has many markets, which are here called *bazars*, at which all kinds of goods, and especially provisions, are sold ; the *bazar* of the money-changers, which is a long and broad street, is the handsomest.

The principal houses are built of brick, with terrace-roofs, in the Moorish style. They are but of one story, and are whitened on the outside with lime, which gives them an elegant appearance.

As little wood as possible is used in building, on account of the white ants, which entirely destroy the inside of the wood, in a very few years. These insects are formidable from the immensity of their numbers. They eat away the ends of the beams which are inserted in the masonry, so that they sometimes fall down, without shewing any previous signs of decay ; for no marks of the depredations of

the ants appear on the outside. Nothing that has hitherto been tried to counteract this evil, has been found of any avail.

Glass windows are not known here. Frames of twisted cane, are made use of in their stead. Glass would be very uncomfortable in the great heats, which prevail for eight or nine months in the year. When the winds from the north, in December and January, blow hard, the windows and doors, which open to that quarter are shut, and those which look to the south stand open. The apartments are roomy, airy, and provided on the south side with galleries, or porticos, resting upon pillars.

The terrace-roofs, and the floors of the rooms, are laid with fine pulverized stones, which they call *zurkee*; these are mixed up with limewater, and an inferior kind of molasses, and in a short time grow as hard, and as smooth, as if the whole was one large stone. The inhabitants take the evening air upon their terraces, and sometimes pass a part of the night upon them, in company with their friends.

The houses, or rather the huts, of the poor

poor Bengalese, are mostly made of mud and straw, and receive their light through the entrance.

*Chinsurah* has a handsome little church, with a steeple. The first was built by the director SICHTERMAN, and the last was added by Mr. VERNET. There is no regular clergyman belonging to this church, but service is performed by a *ziekentrooster*\*, who reads a sermon, on Sunday morning. When any children are to be baptized, the English clergyman from *Calcutta* is sent for, who is liberally paid for his trouble, by the parents.

Mr. SICHTERMAN erected a very handsome building, not far from the church, to which he gave the name of *Welgeleegen* (well situated). It lies close to the *Ganges*, and a gallery, with a double row of pillars, projects over the water, above which is an elegant terrace and balcony, which commands the finest prospect at *Chinsurah*; on one side the view extends as far as *Cham-*

\* A *ziekentrooster* is a person not in orders, who officiates as chaplain on board of ships, reading prayers, and attending the sick when at the point of death; from this last function, he is called *ziekentrooster*, or literally, a *comforter of the sick*. T.

*dernagore*, and on the other beyond *Bandel*. The gardens which are adjoining to this building, are delightfully shady and pleasant.

The Company's lodge, which bears the name of Fort *Gustavus*, is constructed in a large open place, about five hundred, or five hundred and fifty, feet from the river. It is an oblong square; the longest sides, which are opposite to north and south, are about six hundred and sixty feet in length; the shortest, about the half. It was built in the year 1656, as appears by the date over the landgate. The walls are of stone, about fifteen feet high; but they are, at present, in such a ruinous condition, that it would be dangerous to discharge the cannon which are mounted upon them. Within, are the Company's warehouses, and the house of the director, which is the only thing worth seeing. There are three gates, one by the river, one on the landside, to the north, and another to the south; this last leads to what is called the Company's garden, in which there is neither a bush, nor a blade of grass.

To the westward of the lodge, there was formerly

formerly a burying-ground, which was adorned with many handsome tombs, and gravestones. But these were all destroyed under the government of the director TAILLEFERT, except the monument of the director HUISMAN, which was transformed into a powder-magazine. The rest was made into a level plain, and the buryingplace was removed to another part of the town, where now every grave has an upright tomb-stone upon it.

A battery of one-and-twenty pieces of cannon, is thrown up, by the riverside, for the purpose of firing salutes.

Something more than a quarter of an hour's walk out of *Chinsurah*, towards *Chandernagore*, a large and handsome house was erected, during the direction of Mr. VERNET, as a lodge for the free-masons, which was completed and inaugurated while I was there. This festivity concluded in the evening with a magnificent firework and ball, at which the chief English and French ladies and gentlemen were equally present.

This building, to which the name of *Concordia* was given, cost thirty thousand rupees, and the money was defrayed out of

the private purses of the members of the council of *Hougly*. On the above occasion, the ladies, whose husbands belonged to the fraternity, wore the insignia of the order, hanging by a blue or red ribbon over the left shoulder. They are very fond of shewing themselves with this decoration, and the women, whose husbands have not been initiated, urge them very much to be so.

*Hougly*, which lends its name to *Chinsurah*, is a Moorish fort, a short half an hour's walk higher up. It is not very defensible, and has little worthy of observation within it, except the house of the *fauzdar*, and the stables for his elephants.

The factory which the Company have at *Patna*, in the province of *Babar*, is established for the purchase of saltpetre, and of opium. The chief there, who has the rank of merchant, and has a junior merchant under him, is entitled to assist at the deliberations of the council of *Hougly*, when he happens to be at *Chinsurah*. This office is esteemed the most lucrative, next to that of the director.

The factory at *Dacca*, was formerly of very little consideration, but for these last three

three years the manufactories have again been prosecuted with vigour. The neglect of them is said, to have been owing to the improper management of a director, who had his own private advantage in view, in suffering them to be unnoticed by the Company.

*Bernagore* is a village which belongs to the Company, and, as at *Chinsurah*, the Dutch flag is hoisted, though they have no other of their servants resident here, than an under-officer of the fiscal. It lies on the eastern bank of the *Ganges*, ten or twelve leagues below *Chinsurah*. The coarsest sorts of blue handkerchiefs are made here. The Company have a house, not far from the river, which serves for the temporary accommodation of such of their servants, as land here, in going up or down the river. *Bernagore* is famous on account of the great number of ladies of pleasure, who reside there, and who pay a monthly recognition to the fiscal of *Chinsurah*, for the free exercise of their profession.

The troops which the Company maintain in *Bengal* amount to no more than

one hundred and fifty men, commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, and an ensign \*.

\* In 1776, and 1777, the whole establishment of the Dutch in *Bengal* was reduced to the following: *viz.* sixty-four persons in civil, and two in ecclesiastical, employments; seven surgeons and assistants, ten belonging to the artillery, sixty-nine seamen and marines, and forty-eight soldiers; being in all 200 Europeans. T.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Manner of Life of the Europeans.—Black Writers.  
—Banyans.—Domestics.—The Ladies.—Trade of  
the Company.—Duties paid to the Nabob.—Trade  
of the French.—Humiliating Conditions imposed  
upon them at the last Peace.—Strictly insisted upon  
by the English.—Instance hereof.—Description of  
CHANDERNAGORE.—House and Gardens of the  
Governor.—Factories up the Country.—Danish  
Settlement at SERAMPORE.—Eastern Nations  
that resort to BENGAL.—Concluding Reflections on  
the State of the Country and Inhabitants.*

**E**UROPEANS lead, in *Bengal*, a very easy life; the men, who are almost all in the service of the Company, devote a part of the morning to attending upon their business, and those who possess any the least fortune, keep a black writer in daily employment, at their houses, for which he receives twenty or twenty-five rupees per month. These black writers are descendants of Portuguese, who having married native women, their offspring have lost the colour of their fathers, and received that of their mothers; but they retain

tain the religion of the former \*. They write a good hand, and copy Dutch very accurately, without understanding a word of it. The Europeans are eased by them, of a great part of the little work they would otherwise have to perform. The Europeans spend the remainder of their time, either in revels, or in sleep, though sometimes the latter can scarcely be procured during the excessive heats.

Besides these black writers, most Europeans have also one or two banyans, who note down all payments and receipts, and through whose hands all pecuniary matters go, as well in buying as in selling. They serve, in this capacity, without any fixed pay, but they know how much more they may charge upon every rupee, than they have in reality paid, and this is called *costumado*.

Moorish domestics are kept for the menial services of the house, and *peons* to run before the palankeens, and to carry an umbrella, or parasol, over the head of their master, when he goes out.

Every house has likewise a porter, whose sole occupation is to answer the door; and

\* They are what we call *Tapaffes*. T.

one or two sets of *berras*, or palankeen-bearers, together with a *barrymaid*, or *matarani*, who carries out the dirt ; and a great number of slaves, both male and female.

This mode of life naturally occasions an enormous expenditure. The least in rank stand in need of five or six thousand rupees annually, and even then they must practice economy. Most people spend twice as much, although their income does not amount to more than half of what they disburse. The dearness of provisions which are brought from Europe, contributes hereto ; but perhaps the greatest cause may be traced in the excessive expence which the ladies incur, in the articles of dress and appearance. Domestic peace and tranquillity must be purchased, by a shower of jewels, a wardrobe of the richest clothes, and a kingly parade of plate upon the sideboard ; the husband must give all these, or, according to a vulgar phrase, " the house would be too hot to hold him," while the wife never pays the least attention to her domestic concerns, but suffers the whole to depend upon her servants or slaves.

The women generally rise between eight and nine o'clock. The forenoon is spent in paying

paying visits to their friends, or in lolling upon a sofa, with their arms across. Dinner is ready at half past one; they go to sleep till half past four or five ; they then dress in form ; and the evening and part of the night is spent in company, or at dancing parties, which are frequent, during the colder season.

Both men and women generally dress in the English style. The ladies affect, for coolness, to wear no covering on their necks, and leave none of the beauties of a well-formed bosom to be guessed at. They are friendly and affable towards strangers, and certainly do not deserve to be called either coy, or cruel. They are fond of parties of pleasure, which are frequently made both upon the delightful banks, and upon the pleasant waves, of the *Ganges*. Yet these, and all other amusements, are here peculiarly expensive.

The commerce of the Company in this country was formerly very profitable ; but for some years back, it has greatly declined, which is, undoubtedly, in a great measure, ascribable to the encreasing influence and power of the English, and their consequent preponderance in affairs of trade ; I say, however,

however, in a great measure, because I think I am pretty well informed, that a want of fidelity in the Company's servants, has not a little contributed to lessen the profits.

The goods which are imported from *Batavia*, and which cannot be brought hither by any other nation than the Dutch, are spices, and Japan copper, in bars; this last affords the greatest benefit, since it is an article that cannot here be dispensed with.

The profits, however, upon the sale of these and other goods, do not cover one-half of the expences of the establishment, which amount to full six tons of gold \*.

The

\* About 54,500*l.* sterling. This seems to be taken at random; for the statement of *Mossel*, in 1755, makes the charges of the Dutch settlements in *Bengal*, amount to *f.402,500*, about 36,600*l.* In 1779, however, they were no more than *f.265,517*, and the profits upon the merchandize sold were *f.385,159*, so that, instead of losing, the Company gained *f.119,642*, or nearly 11,000*l.* But they both maintained, as we have before seen, a less extensive military establishment; and in former times, their direction, in *Bengal*, must have been flagrantly bad; for we find the following severe reflections, in a letter written many years before from *Batavia*, among the papers annexed to the *Secret Considerations on the State of India*, by *Mossel*: "For a series of years, a succession of directors here, have been guilty of the greatest enormities, and the foulest dishonesty; they have looked upon the Company's

" effects

The loss of anchors and cables, by the Company's ships, in the *Ganges*, is calculated

" effects confided to them, as a booty thrown open to their " depredations; they have most shamefully and arbitrarily " falsified the invoice-prices; they have violated, in the most " disgraceful manner, all our orders and regulations, with re- " gard to the purchase of goods, without paying the least at- " tention to their oaths and duty; we will not add, that the " whole of the Company's profits upon the silver, have been " embezzled, but they have not, for many years, been " forthcoming." If a reform have since taken place, we need not wonder at the great difference above observed, between the accounts drawn up by *Moszel*, and those of later years. The profits upon the piecegoods and raw silk sold in Europe, are not inconsiderable; in 1778, were sold the value of £2,000,000 in piecegoods, and the value of £500,000 in raw silk, besides two millions pounds weight of saltpetre; and fifteen to twenty per cent is the calculated gain, after deduction of the ships' charges, upon all three articles. If all other branches were to fail, the opium-trade to *Batavia* would be alone sufficient to render the commerce of the Dutch in *Bengal*, a source of great profit. *Moszel* calculated the annual gain upon this article at £800,000; but since his time, the trade has considerably slackened, and we may say, that the advance upon it, amounts now to no more than £5, or £600,000. About 800 boxes, containing 125lb. each, of this drug, go annually from *Bengal* to *Batavia*, they stand the Company, including freight, insurance, and other charges, in about £792 each; and if sold, as in 1783, for £1383. 3. 0, the advance to the Company, upon the whole 800 boxes, will be found to be £472.920, besides the duties at *Batavia*, upon the exportation to the neighbouring settlements, which make it amount, as above said,

culated to amount to *f.30,000.* every year \*.

The ship that sails annually from *Amsterdam* for *Bengal*, brings iron, cutlery, woollens, and other European goods, which have a tolerable vent. The Company, likewise, gain considerably upon the silver in bullion, which is imported, and is recoined into rupees.

The money which is required for the purposes of trade every year here, is estimated at forty or fifty tons of gold †, the largest part of which is destined for the purchase of return cargoes for Europe, and the remainder for *Batavia*. Those which went to Holland in the year 1768, amounted, per invoices, to *f.2,649,510. 17. 0.* and consisted in piece-goods, raw silk, and saltpetre for ballast.

Two or more ships, which go annually to *Java*, take piecegoods, opium, and saltpetre ; of the latter article, the largest part is re-

above-said, to between *f.5* and *f.600,000*, or about *50,000l.* sterling. All the opium is disposed of to the society established at *Batavia*, in 1745, for this trade, of which a particular account has been given, page 295 of this volume. *T.*

\* About *2,725l.* sterling. *T.*

† Between *350,000l.* and *450,000l.* sterling. *T.*

shipped for Holland ; and gunpowder is manufactured of the remainder, at *Batavia*.

Besides the yearly presents, which are given to the Moorish government, to the amount of about ten thousand gilders, the Company pay certain duties, to the nabob, upon all the goods which are either carried up the river from *Hougly*, or are received there from above. Much misunderstanding arose, in October, 1769, from the non-payment of these dues, which was of great prejudice to the Company, and was only accommodated by the interposition of the English.

The trade of the French here, has, since the last war, been greatly on the decline. Their settlement and fort of *Chandernagore*, were then wholly destroyed by the English. At the peace which followed, it was conditioned, that the fort should not be rebuilt, nor should they be allowed to fortify themselves in any way, nor even to hoist their flag, as the other nations did, at their factories, upon a lofty ensignstaff, but only upon a bamboo-pole. The English are very strict on these points, and are very careful that the French do not infringe these conditions in the least. It was not long ago, that they enforced

enforced their right in this respect, without any ceremony.

Mr. CHEVALIER, the French governor, had caused a deep ditch to be dug round *Chandernagore*, with salient angles, at intervals, and the earth thrown up inwards, so that it had the appearance of a rampart, or intrenchment. He alleged, that this work was only intended to keep the place dry, and was undertaken with no other view than to drain the water from the circumjacent country, and convey it into the river. However, when the English council of *Calcutta* were informed hereof, they looked upon it in a very different light, and they immediately had the work privately surveyed, by one of their engineers, who himself related this circumstance to me, and he reported, that it appeared to be made for very different purposes, than those that were pretended. Upon this, they sent word to the French governor, that he must stop the prosecution of the work, and destroy as much of it, as had already been finished ; for, if his sole purpose were that of draining off the water, it was unnecessary to dig so deep ; that his ditch was deeper than the low water

mark of the *Ganges*; that the salient angles were needless; that the earth ought not to have been thrown up inwards, like an intrenchment; and, finally, that if he did not choose to do it himself, they would be obliged to have the ditch filled up again, by their own workmen. A few days afterwards, they put this threat in execution, and sent the engineer, and eight hundred *sipahis*, or Moorish soldiers, to *Chandernagore*, who filled up the ditch, and restored the whole to its former level and defenceless condition.

However painful this was to the feelings of Mr. CHEVALIER, he was compelled to submit to it, being without any means of resisting the will of these haughty oppressors. The French are only allowed a certain small number of cannon, for saluting; if they were to contravene this regulation, their supernumerary artillery would soon be taken away by the English.

*Chandernagore* is situated on the western bank of the *Ganges*, something less than an hour's walk below *Chinsurah*, in north latitude  $22^{\circ} 51'$ , and in time  $5^{\text{h}} 44' 37''$  east of the meridian of *Paris*, according to the *Connaissance des Temps*. It is built, about

about a mile in length, along the *Ganges*, in a straight line, with two parallel, and several cross, streets behind it, which have some good buildings. The ruins of the fort, demolished by the English, are at the north end of the place, and sufficiently demonstrate its former strength. It could not, however, withstand the heavy fire of the English ships of war, which battered it, and reduced it in a short time to a heap of ruins \*.

The present governor has built a handsome house, and laid out an elegant garden, about four miles below *Chandernagore*, where there is a most charming prospect along the *Ganges*.

They have, likewise, several factories up the country ; at *Coffimbazar*, *Dacca*, *Malda*, *Patna*, and other places ; yet their trade is very inconsiderable in comparison with our's, or that of the English. Their ships come up the river, as far as *Chandernagore*, where there is a sufficient depth of water for them.

The Danish Company have their settlement at *Serampore*, halfway between *Calcutta* and *Chinsurah*, being on the western

\* It is almost needless to add, that both *Chandernagore* and *Chinsurah*, are now in the hands of the English. T.

sde of the *Ganges*. This place is of little consideration. It consists of a few houses of Europeans, and a small Bengalese village. The trade of the Danes is more circumscribed than that of any other nation. They receive only one or two ships every year from Europe, and they have no country-trade whatever. While I was in *Bengal*, their director, or governor, left their factory, taking with him, as was said, three lacks of rupees, or four hundred and fifty thousand gilders, with which he went to the English, in order to take his passage to England.

In the last place, several of the eastern nations, Persians, Armenians, and others, resort to *Bengal*, allured by the advantageous trade, which they are enabled to pursue there.

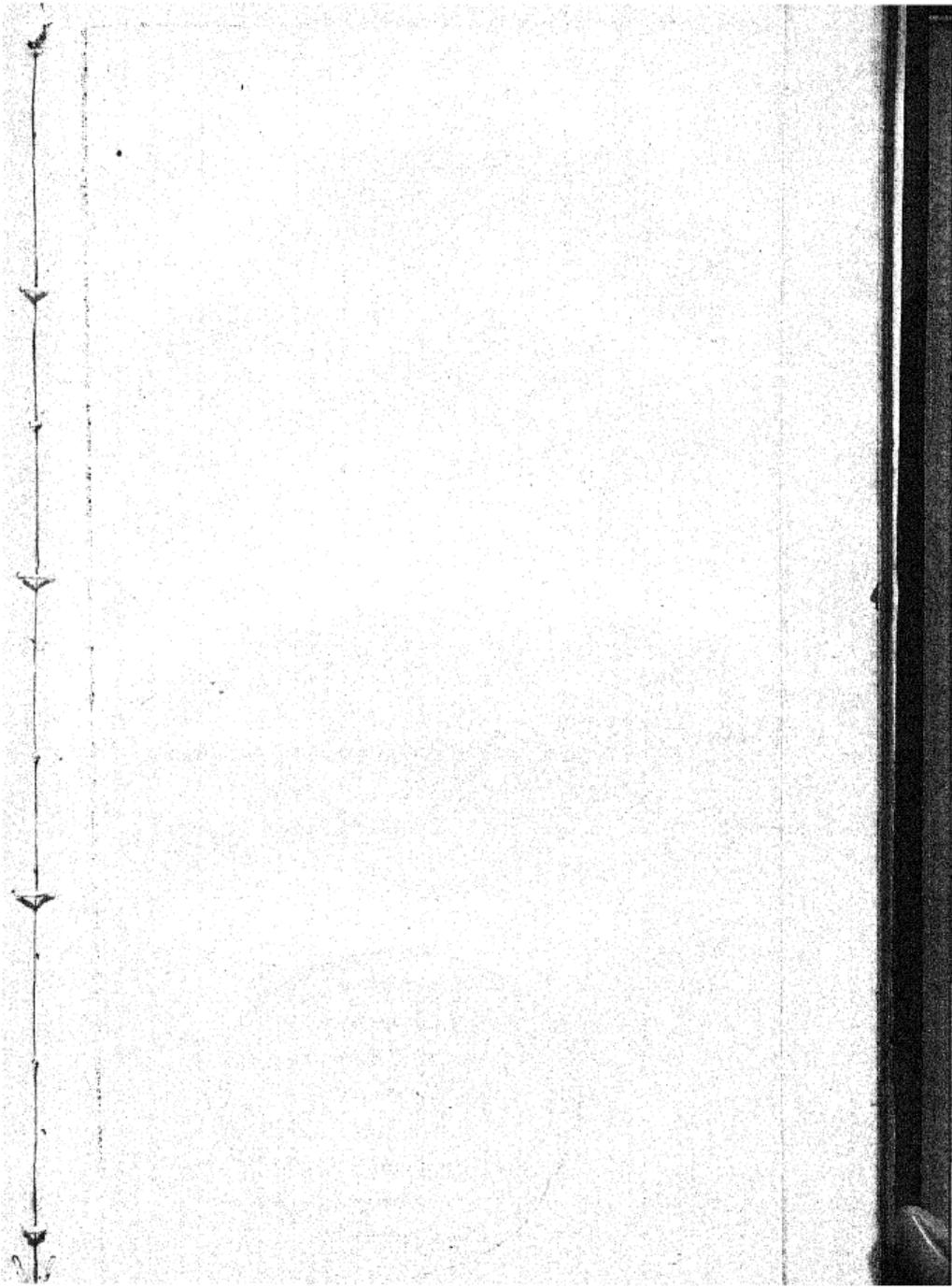
In effect, the land is, in very many respects, excellently calculated for an extensive commerce. If we call to mind the circumstances of former times, what treasures have not the goods brought to Europe, produced to the several Companies ! and what advantages may not still be drawn from a country, excelling most others in fertility, and where so many articles necessary, and even

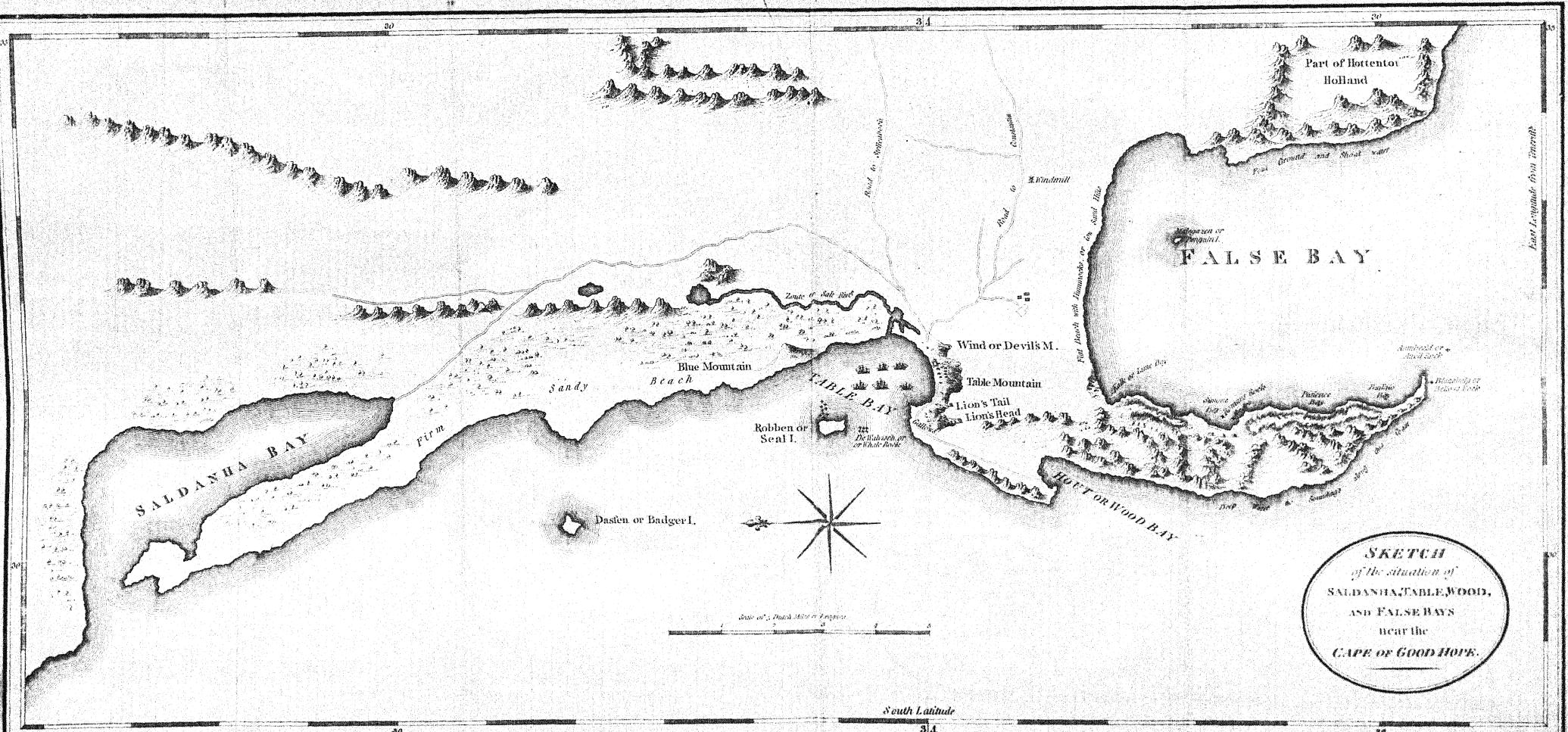
even indispensable in others, are produced, or received from the neighbouring and otherwise inaccessible regions !

But let us attentively consider all the sons of men, all the nations of the globe, and we shall speedily perceive, that nothing is more inimical to the activity of genius, to the exertions of courage, nay even to the preservation of corporeal health, and the encrease of population, than injustice, injury, and extortion, the inseparable and disastrous consequences of violence and tyranny ! What can cast a greater damp upon both industry and emulation, than the arbitrary measures of a despotic government ! How much more ingenious, how much more diligent, how much more happy, would this people be, if, instead of being oppressed and kept under, they were encouraged and supported, and opportunities afforded them of improving themselves, both in their very excellent manufactures, and in the tillage of their happy soil ! Is it an incitement to them to be active and industrious, that they are forced to labour their whole lives, for an inconsiderable reward ; a trifle, that scarcely suffices to procure the necessary food for themselves

and their families? Is it an additional spur to industry, that they are treated with contempt and derision, and that they are exposed to personal abuse and injury?

Besides, to what do the advantages in reality amount, which are derived from the labour and sweat of these wretched Indians? They are little better than ideal. The large profits which are received, as it were, with one hand, and paid away with the other, are gradually diminished, and become, from day to day, less perceptible in the coffers of the Companies.





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BOOK IV.

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OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE CAPE OF  
GOOD HOPE.

## CHAPTER I.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—*Sandhill Point*.—*Table Bay*.—*ROBBEN Island*.—*The Table Valley*.—*Lion's Mountain*.—*Table-Mountain*.—*Wildberg*, or *Devil's Mountain*.—*Weather*.—*Squalls*.—*Seasons*.—*Other Mountains near the Cape*.—*Soil*.—*Rivers*.—*Productions*.—*Wheat*.—*Wines*.—*Vineyards of CONSTANTIA*.—*Fruits*.

THE *Cape of Good Hope* is properly the western point of *False Bay*; its south latitude is  $34^{\circ} 25'$ , and longitude east from *Teneriffe*  $35^{\circ}$ . It is not the most southern point of *Africa*; for Cape *Anguillas*, which is some leagues to the eastward of it, lies in  $34^{\circ} 50'$  south latitude.

About seven leagues to the northward of the west point of *False Bay*, is the *Leeuwen-*

berg, or *Lion's Mountain*. From the northern part of it, or what is called the *Leeuwestaart*, or *Lion's-tail*, extends a low sandy point, which is called the *Duintjes*, or *Sandhill Point*, and which forms the western extremity of *Table-Bay*. This is a large bay, where ships lie sheltered from all winds, except from N.W. to W.N.W. and when the weather is stormy, from those quarters, a heavy sea rolls in, by which the Company lost seven homeward-bound ships, in the year 1737.

Before the bay, lies a small and low island, of something more than three quarters of a league in circumference, called *Robben*, or *Seal Island*. It is a barren and rocky spot, interspersed with patches of sandy ground. It serves as a place of exile, or confinement, for criminals sent hither, either from the Indies, or the Cape. These are obliged to labour, for several hours every day, in the service of the Company, chiefly in hewing and transporting of lime-stone, which is afterwards carried by small vessels to the Cape, and is used in the construction of houses, and other works; they are allowed the necessary provisions by the Company.

A serjeant,

A serjeant, who has the title of post-keeper, with four-and-twenty men, keep guard over these malefactors, who were, in the year 1771, when I lay at anchor there, upwards of seventy in number. No woman is allowed to reside on the island, not even the wife of the post-keeper. The last has his abode on the east side of the island, where there are some houses erected for the prisoners.

Many reefs project out from the island on all sides; and a quarter of a league to the southward, there is a large rock, just upon a level with the water, which is called the *Waivisch*, or *Whale*, and upon which there are breakers upon the least swell of the sea. The road of the island is on the east side, in nine fathoms water.

*Table-Bay* is formed by three high mountains, the most western of which is the *Lion's Mountain*; *Table-Mountain* is in the middle, and the *Windberg*, or *Devil's Mountain*, the easternmost. They lie in a semicircular form, and the valley between them, in which are situated *Capetown* and *cajle*, is called the *Table-valley*.

*Lion's Mountain* has been so called, because,

cause, from a certain point of view, it bears in shape, a real, or fancied, resemblance to a lion couching. It is therefore distinguished into what is called the *Lion's-head*, and the *Lion's-tail*, or *rump*. The *Lion's-head* \* is a bare rock, from the top to the bottom; the tail is likewise rocky, but it is covered with a slight stratum of earth, which produces an inferior kind of grass; and every one is at liberty to let their cattle feed upon it.

The Abbé DE LA CAILLE found that the altitude of the *Lion's-head*, above the surface of the sea, was 2,151, and that of the *rump*, 1,140 Rhineland feet.

The Company have erected an ensign-staff, upon both these summits, upon which signal-flags are hoisted, as soon as any ships are perceived at sea. These signals are changed every month; advices thereof are sent two years beforehand to Holland, and to the settlements in India, and sealed letters, containing the detail of them, are given to the commanders of vessels, who are to

\* This is likewise called the *Sugarloaf*, by English navigators. T.

touch at the Cape, which are opened when they come in sight of the mountain, in order to be sure that the place is in the hands of their own countrymen, and, if the signals agree, that they may proceed with confidence to the anchorage in the bay.

One or two men are constantly stationed on the *Lion's-head*, and as soon as they perceive any ship at sea, they hoist the flag, and fire one or more times, according to the number of vessels that appear, a small piece of cannon, which has been got up to this place, with great difficulty, and the report of which is the more easily heard at *Capetown*, from the reverberation, which it makes against the steep sides of the *Table-Mountain*.

The *Table-Mountain* is so called, because, being seen from below, it presents a flat surface at the top, like a table. It is the largest, and highest, of the hills at the Cape. On the north side, full half of the height is a bare rock, perfectly perpendicular. On the south, it is less steep, but in the intermediate spaces, it is equally very precipitous. The perpendicular height of the east side of the Table, above the surface of the sea, is

3,416 ; on the west side 3,470 ; the length of the Table, 8,638 ; the distance of the western brow, from the *Lion's-head*, 9,136 ; and of the eastern brow, from the summit of the *Wind*, or *Devil's*, Mountain, 4,436 Rhineland feet, according to measurement of the beforementioned Abbé DE LA CAILLE. He likewise found that the mercury, in the barometer, stood  $3\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$  inches lower on the east side, and  $3\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$  inches on the west side, than at the surface of the sea.

The *Windberg*, likewise called the *Devil's Mountain*,\* is the eastern boundary of *Table-valley* ; its height is estimated at 3,215 feet. It consists of an entire rock, covered in some few places with a little earth, which nourishes some small bushes. This mountain is thought to be more difficult of ascent than the *Table-Mountain*.

These three mountains are partly united, about one quarter of the way up, to each other ; but are separated by wide chasms, at the summits. The *Table-Mountain* appears, by reason of its great height and steepness, to

\* And sometimes *Charles's Mountain*, by the English. T.

hang over the town, though it is the farthest distant.

The near neighbourhood of these elevated mountains, and especially of the two last, produces no little inconvenience to the inhabitants of the *Cape*, in the southeast, or good, monsoon, by the heavy squalls, which pour over them. Several hours before they begin to blow, a small cloud appears at the top of the Table, which is followed by others, and assembling together, they gradually cover the whole of the summit, and descend down its sides, sometimes farther than half way, so that the mountain appears encircled by an impenetrable mist, while the clouds roll majestically down the sides of the chasm, between the west side of the *Table Mountain*, and the *Lion's-head*.

Then follow the most violent gusts of wind, which sometimes last for four days, and longer. During them, it is even difficult to walk the streets. Large-sized pebbles are taken up by the torrent of air, and carried out into the road, as far as the ships. These can scarcely remain at anchor : it often happens that they part their cables,

cables, though they have no swell of the sea to withstand, but only the violence of the wind.

On coming from sea, when the southeast wind blows hard, the greatest danger is run of losing sails, or masts, if one persists in attempting to reach the road; hence, in such cases, most ships run under *Robben Island*, and cast anchor there.

Although the season when this wind prevails, is called the good monsoon (*goede mousson*), it is nevertheless much better weather, during the months from May to September, which are, on the contrary, called the bad monsoon (*kwaade mousson*), on account of the violent northwest winds which then sometimes blow, and make the road of *Table-Bay* unsafe. For this reason, the Company's ships are not allowed to enter it, from the middle of May, to the middle of August, but must run into *False-Bay*, where they lie sheltered from all winds.

The other hills, which are in view of the *Cape*, are, in the first place, those of *Hottentot Holland*, which lie at a great distance to the eastward, and are said to be full twice as high as the *Table-Mountain*. They  
are

are a chain of mountains, stretching to the northward, and ending to the south, at the east point of *False-Bay*. The others are the *Blauwenberg*, or *Blue Mountain*, the *Koeberg*, or *Cow-Mountain*, and the *Tiger-mountains*, which are not far from the *Cape*.

The soil is very good at the foot of the mountains, but in the large vallies, it is barren and sandy, and produces little or nothing, for want of water. Hence most of the farms are laid out upon the sides of the hills, where they are watered by the little rivulets which descend from the summits. The soil is much impregnated with saline particles, in the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, which is very bad for the vines; it was for this reason, when in the beginning of the present century, Governor VAN DER STEL, planted the vineyards of *Constantia*, whence, as is well known, the most delicious wines are annually brought to Europe, that he had a basket of earth taken up, at the distance of every hundred rods, for a considerable tract of country round the *Cape*, and mixed with water, in order to make experiments of which soil was the least brackish. This was found to be at the spot, where the famous vineyards of *Constantia* have

have been planted. An old man, whose father had been employed in the establishment of them, related the above to me.

Many rivers, it is said, are met with up the country, but none of them are navigable; hence all goods are conveyed, from one place to another, by carriages. The largest river, in the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, is called the *Zoute*, or *Salt* river, on account of its briny taste. It is fordable every where, even close to its mouth.

Every necessary of life is produced in abundance, in the country round this colony.

Very excellent wheat is grown in great plenty; so that, besides the annual exportation to *Batavia*, other nations, the English, and especially the French, take large quantities, both of flour and of baked bread, for their Indian possessions\*. The corn is brought to

the

\* From 1400 to 1600 tons of wheat used yearly to be exported from the *Cape*, for the consumption of *Batavia* and *Ceylon*; besides large quantities of pease, beans, butter, and wines: and, on the other hand, *Batavia* furnished, by a yearly ship to the *Cape*, a quantity of rice, arrack, sugar, and prepared timber. In the year 1771, the French contracted at the *Cape*, for the use of their colonies at *Mauritius* and *Bourbon*, for 400,000 lbs. of flour, 400,000 lbs. of biscuit, 500,000 lbs.

the town, from the interior parts of the country, by carts, drawn by oxen, each carrying a load of full one thousand pounds weight, which, when I was last there, was sold for fifteen rixdollars, or thirty-six gilders \*.

The winepresses yield much wine of various sorts, which are all, more or less, agreeable, and in request.

Next to the genuine constantia, the wines called muscadel, and *steen-wine*, are esteemed the best. There is a sort which in taste resembles madeira, but which is neither so strong, nor so racy. The commonest wines are sold at the *Cape*, for thirty-five, and forty rixdollars the leager; the muscadel fetches sixty and seventy rixdollars, and the constantia-wine from sixty to seventy-five rixdollars the awm †.

The last mentioned has its name from the  
of salt beef, and 1,200 leagers of wine. Since the *Cape* fell  
into the hands of the English, in September, 1795, many car-  
goes of wheat have been brought thence, to this country. 7.

\* See the further corrected statements of Mr. STAVORI-  
NUS on this head, in the 10th chapter of the second book, of  
the 3d volume.

† A leager is nearly four awms, and an awm contains about  
forty English gallons.

vineyards of *Constantia*; this delicious wine cannot be produced any where else. They lie behind the *Table-Mountain*, towards *False-Bay*, and do not cover much more than forty acres of ground. The wine is pressed from the muscadel-grape, which is let hang till quite ripe, the sound grapes are then culled out from the rotten ones, and are alone pressed. The vintage is made in the month of March.

All kinds of fruit are likewise to be met with here, as well such as are indigenous of the climate, as such as are natives of Europe; currants, however, excepted, of which I saw none. Peaches and apricots are produced in abundance, but they did not seem to me to possess so fine a flavour as those of our own growth.

## CHAPTER II.

*The Hottentots.—Their Appearance.—Description of Capetown.—The Houses.—River.—Church.—Townhall.—Hospital.—Its ill Construction.—Bad Treatment of the Sick.—Public Library.—Castle.—Fortifications.—Company's Garden.—Menagerie.—Aviary.—Other Gardens belonging to the Company.*

THE native inhabitants of the country are the Hottentots; but they are, at present, for the most part, removed to a great distance from the *Cape*. They dwell together in villages, called *kraals*, and are under a chief, whom they elect themselves, and who has the title of captain. The governor of the *Cape* confirms his nomination, and presents him, as a token of his dignity, with a cane, upon which there is a large brass head, with the usual mark of the Company engraved upon it. They are very proud of this mark of distinction, and so tenacious of it, that they will lose their lives in defence of it.

The Hottentots often hire themselves, for

very trifling wages, as herdsmen to the farmers, or for other work. The few whom I saw of this nation, were of a moderate stature, not corpulent, but of a coarse make, and a dark brown colour. They have large eyes, a flat nose, and thick lips. They have thick and black curling hair upon their heads, like the negroes, upon which they smear all kinds of greasy dirt, and make it one clotted lump of filth. Their teeth are small, and as white as snow. They have no other dress, than a raw sheepskin, which is thrown over the shoulders; in the warm season they wear the woolly side outwards, and turn it inwards when the cold months come on. The parts which most nations agree to conceal, are worn by the men in a cylindrical case, which is tied round the waist. The women, who are somewhat less coarsely made, but still extremely unlovely, wear a small square piece of cloth, for the same purpose.

The town of the *Cape* lies at the foot of the *Lion's-tail*, and of *Table-Mountain*. It is oblong in shape, and it is intersected by several streets, crossing each other at right angles, though they in fact do not deserve that

that name, being all unpaved, and not at all level, the natural unevenness of the ground having been left unaltered. When I was the last time at the *Cape*, however, I was told, that they were going to be duly paved, and levelled. They are very broad, and afford sufficient room for two carts, with sixteen or twenty oxen yoked to them, to give way to each other, with great ease.

As I guess, there are, at present, full five hundred houses, but they are almost all of but a single story, and thatched with straw, or reed, instead of being tiled, because of the violent and sudden gusts of wind, to which they are continually exposed. They are, for the most part, whitened on the outsides, with lime, which is burnt here from stones fetched from *Saldanha*-Bay. Within, they have a spacious hall, with roomy apartments on each side, behind which there is a large chamber, to which they give the name of the gallery.

The little river, which gushes down from the *Table*-Mountain, runs through a large plain, to the south of the town, in a canal, lined and faced with brick, which is adorned, on each side, with some of the handsomest

buildings of the country, and a row of shady trees ; it is called the *Heeren-gragt*, or *Gentleman's-canal*.

Upon this plain, there are two fountains, which play constantly, though they may be stopped by large brass cocks ; the inhabitants, and the ships, are supplied with water from them.

The church stands upon the *Heeren-gragt*, and has four fronts, each embellished with a portico. It is of an octagon form within. The roof is supported by pillars, against which the pews of the governor, and other servants of the Company, are placed, according to their rank. It has a pretty good organ. The little spire which arose from it, was heightened, when I was last at the *Cape*.

The townhall, which makes a tolerably handsome appearance on the outside, stands upon a large open place, opposite to the town.

The Company's hospital is situated obliquely opposite to the church. It is built in the form of a cross, and being inclosed amidst other buildings, it is without a most necessary advantage for such an institution, namely,

namely, a free circulation of air. It has besides a very low roof, and is much too small for the numerous sick, brought to the *Cape* by the Company's ships. At its first establishment, it was only made for the accommodation of five or six hundred patients : whereas it is now sometimes crowded with more than a thousand. This causes a continued and disagreeable smell in the building, by which it does not unfrequently happen, that together with the sick which are returned on board of ships from the hospital, a contagious disease is conveyed to the crew, which carries off a great number. The provisions which are given to the patients are very good ; but the necessary attendance is wholly wanting, as well as skilful practitioners. If any thing of the Company's affairs ever required a reform, it is the hospital at the *Cape*, not only with regard to the edifice itself, but likewise, and chiefly, with respect to the conduct of it. The wretched sailors, do not only run the danger of losing their lives, or ruining their constitutions, in this abode of stench and filth, but their wages are likewise withheld during the time they remain in the hospital,

and the money goes to the institution, because, forsooth, they do no service while they are sick, and are nevertheless provided with victuals and drink \*.

Not far from the church, stands a building, which is embellished with the proud title of *Bibliotheca Publica*. Very few good works are to be met with, among the few books it does contain; being in this respect perfectly similar to that at *Batavia*, which is equally decorated with the same high-founding title. It is the sexton of the church who is *Bibliothecarius*.

The castle of the *Cape*, is a regular pentagon; it stands southeast from the town, about 800 feet, and about 330 from the seashore. On this side it is covered by a large outwork, and by a ravelin at the gate which leads to the town. The bastions and curtains are built of hard rock-stone, and are about fourteen or fifteen feet high. Within, it has roomy dwelling-houses for the governor, and other of the Company's ser-

\* In November, 1772, the foundation was laid, by Governor VAN PLETENBERG, of a new hospital, on a larger scale, and in a more convenient situation, at the east end of the town, between *Table-Mountain* and the citadel. T.

vants. They, however, do not make use of them, but live in the town, the military commander excepted, who is obliged to reside in the fort. A large space is left between the buildings. One particular deserves notice, namely, the dangerous situation of the powder-magazine, which is built against the furnace, or kitchen, of the governor, though it is separated from it by a thick wall of masonry.

Southeast from the castle, along the beach, a line is drawn, at the end of which there is a small fort, which was not finished, when I was there, and upon which twenty-six pieces of cannon could be mounted. At the other side of the town, near *Sandhill-Point*, there is likewise a large battery, to which the name of the water-fort has been given.

All these fortifications serve for the defence of the road, and to prevent a landing here; but no one, who has any experience in war, would attempt it at this place.

Behind the town, on the acclivity of *Table-Mountain*, is the Company's garden, an oblong-square piece of ground, of about sixty acres. Its breadth is scarcely one-

sixth part of the length. The ground rises gradually to the end of the garden, though the ascent is scarcely perceptible in walking.

The soil is clayey and stony, yet it is continually ameliorated by manure, and fresh and good earth. Lengthwise, the garden has five walks, which lead in straight lines upwards. The middle one is the broadest, and is planted with oak-trees, which, though they are not very large, afford a very agreeable shade by their thick foliage, uniting overhead. The other walks are equally planted with oak-trees, but they are cut like hedges. These are intersected by eleven cross walks, which are planted with bay \* and myrtle-trees.

By this means, the garden is divided into forty-four squares, in which many sorts of fruit-trees, and all kinds of vegetables, are grown; serving chiefly to afford refreshments to the crews of the ships, that touch here.

The whole is watered by the little rivulet, which runs down from the *Table-Mountain*. It is conducted, out of the canal mentioned

\* *Laurus nobilis.*

before, to the garden, and then through numerous little channels to every bed.

At the east side of the garden, about the middle, there is a handsome summerhouse, for the recreation of the governor. There is also a menagery, which is surrounded by high walls, except on the side of the garden, where an iron railing admits the view of the animals that are confined in it. These are, harts \*, elks †, zebras ‡, ostriches, cassowaries, and many others. By the side of the menagery is an aviary, which contains most of the birds, to be met with in the country, which can be kept.

The garden is open, for the recreation of the public, till an hour after sunset, when the gate is closed. It used formerly to be open till late at night, but much abuse being made hereof, it was prohibited.

No one may gather any fruits, or damage any of the productions, upon very heavy penalties. A number of attendants and slaves are continually at hand, to keep watch that no harm be done.

\* *Capra dorcas.*      † *Capra oryx.*      ‡ *Equus zebra.*

Before the garden is the gardener's lodge, and next to it a building, in which the Company's slaves are locked up at night.

Besides this the Company, have two other gardens, on the acclivity of the *Devii's Mountain*, one of which is called *Newland*, and the other *het Ronde Bosch*, (the round grove) ; both of them are adorned with shady walks, and planted with a great number of fruit-trees.

In the first, I saw a standing apricot-tree, which was so large, and had spread its branches so wide, that more than twenty men could be sheltered under them, and it produced very good fruit, at the same time. The governor, and the next in command, live here, from time to time ; and very good dwellinghouses have been erected for them. It is a great pity that these pleasant country-seats, are so subject to the violent attacks of the furious southeast winds which continually sweep down from the mountain.

## CHAPTER III.

*Animals.—Horses.—Oxen.—Cows.—Sheep.—Wild Animals.—Zebras—Ostriches.—Sea-cows.—Game.—Fish.—Insects.*

THE horses which are met with here, are smaller than in Europe, but they are indefatigable in running. Some of them are easy saddle-horses, but many are very restive and uneasy.

Oxen are made use of, both for the purposes of husbandry, and to draw loaded wagons; from six to twenty of them, are yoked, two and two, and are commonly under the guidance of a Hottentot, and governed by a long whip.

The cows here do not give so much milk as in Holland ; it is likewise supposed to be acrimonious and unwholesome. They are also smaller ; and such as are, now and then, brought from Europe, are esteemed much more than those bred in the country.

Sheep \* are in great plenty. They are,

\* *Ovis laticauda.*

in general, larger, and their flesh is full as well-tasted as in Europe. The tail, which consists of pure fat, weighs five, and sometimes more, pounds. Their skins are not covered with wool, but with a sort of hair, which is not very fine. Sheep are likewise met with, which are brought from Holland, and propagate equally with the others, but they are not so abundant.

The wild animals, which are found in the country, and among which the lion, the tiger, the leopard, the buffalo, and the ape, are enumerated, are now far removed from the *Cape*, and are seldom seen near it. The wolf \* only, at times, commits some nocturnal depredations.

Zebras are sometimes caught alive, brought to the *Cape*, and tamed. I saw one in the Company's menagery. This animal has much analogy, in shape, with the common asfs, but is much larger. It is striped with plain brown and white stripes, of about two inches broad, terminating under the belly, which is whitish. The head is likewise striped, but with narrower lines. Although

\* *Hyaena maculata, et canina.*

it be in a manner tamed, it is always very mischievous, and bites, or kicks, at whatever other animal comes near it.

Ostriches are likewise met with here. Their eggs are bought for two or three stivers apiece ; they are very good, fried, or in pastry, and very convenient to take with one, on a journey : one of them contains as much as twenty hen's eggs. The birds which I saw, were about four feet high, with strong and thick legs, and stumps instead of wings ; they carry their head and long neck upright. The male is much handsomer than the female ; the latter is covered with an ugly kind of light brown hair, and thin feathers ; but the feathers of the male are black, and much handsomer, and more glossy.

Sea-cows \* are sometimes met with in the rivers ; but I saw none. I eat, however, of the flesh of one, which the governor assured me, had weighed more than two thousand pounds. The meat, and especially the fat, is very tasteful, and does not at all disagree with the stomach, however heartily one eats

\* Sea-cow is the denomination given by the colonists at the Cape, to the *Hippopotamus*, or river-horse. T.

of it : if not told beforehand, it might be taken for beef.

There is no want of game here ; *steen-boks* \*, hares †, snipes ‡, and others, are in great plenty ; the firstmentioned, are very fine eating, and are esteemed the best game.

The sea yields an incredible quantity of fish, for the consumption of the *Cape*. The Hottentot-fish, which is like a sea-bream, is daily brought to market, in great plenty. The *Rooman*-fish, which is not unlike the former, only something bigger, is one of the most delicious that is caught ; it is covered with light red scales. Soles and rays are also abundant.

When we were sailing from *Robben*-Island to the road of the *Cape*, we met a very large fish, floating upon its back, with its belly blown up, so that it appeared five feet above the water. It passed us within a ship's length, and appeared to be twenty feet in length. The opportunity would not allow of our hoisting out a boat, or I should certainly have endeavoured to have made myself master of it.

\* *Capra grimmia*.

† *Lepus capensis*, et *communis*.

‡ *Scelopax capensis*.

Many insects peculiar to warm countries, are found here. In particular, the inhabitants are much tormented by flies, of which there are incredible quantities. In the *Riet-vallei* (valley of reeds), about three Dutch miles from the *Cape*, I saw locusts of all colours, full four inches in length, and one in thickness.

There are likewise scorpions, spiders, and centipedes. Of the last, there are some that are four inches in length; but it is very seldom, that any one is heard to have been stung by them.

## CHAPTER IV.

*First Settlement of the Colony.—Extension of it by French Refugees.—Colonists in the Country.—Inhabitants of the Town.—Women.—Men.—Dress.—Character.—Their Trade.—Lodging of Strangers.—Cheapness of Provisions.—Distempers.—The Small-pox.—Degrees of Heat.—Barometer.—Tides.—Coins.—Government.—The Governor.—Council of Polity.—Council of Justice.—Punishments.—Drofts.—Clergymen.—Troops and Militia.*

ALTHOUGH the Portuguese, the Dutch, and other nations, navigating to India, frequently touched at this southern extremity of Africa, to refresh themselves in *Table-Bay*, as a tolerably safe harbour; yet none of them endeavoured to secure a durable establishment here, till the year 1652. About that time, the directors of our East-India Company, though fit, upon the instigation of one VAN RIEBEEK, surgeon of one of their ships, to establish a permanent settlement, for a place of refreshment for their vessels, at the *Cape of Good Hope*. For that purpose they sent VAN RIEBEEK, with four ships, laden

laden with the necessary materials, implements, and provisions, to found a colony at this promontory. At first, he only built a fort of wood and earth, to which he gave the name of *Keer de Kou* (a defence against cold), adding a few other buildings wanted for his people, and to hold the goods.

This colony has, in fact, extremely well answered the intent with which it was settled, and has increased so much since that time, that it may now be esteemed one of the most indispensable possessions of the Company.

A number of refugees from France, who were obliged to leave that country, in 1685, on account of their religion, did not a little contribute to the extension of the settlement. Although they met with an asylum in our republic, they did not, all of them, find sufficient means of support; many, therefore, emigrated again to this country, in order to exert their industry, in the cultivation of those fertile tracts, which lay here untilled, and scarcely noticed. To facilitate this to them, the Company directed, that the implements of husbandry, cattle, and other necessaries, should be delivered to them,

upon condition that their value should be repaid, at the end of four years. Two-thirds of the farmers that live in the country, bear names which prove their French origin. Among others, there are a great many of the names of VILLIERS and RETIF.

The fruitfulness of the women in this healthy climate, where few, have less than six, and many, more than ten or twelve children, has occasioned, and still occasions, the continual extension of the colony inland; so that, as I have been informed by people well worthy of credit, there are farmers who live at the distance of two hundred Dutch miles from the town, and stand in need of a month's time, to travel, with their teams of oxen, to the *Cape*. There are many of them who have never been at the settlement, and never go out of the district in which they dwell, contenting themselves with what the country affords, and living a patriarchal life, free from care, disquiet, and disease.

The inhabitants of the town, both men and women, look fresh and healthy. They are well-proportioned; and among the ladies, there are many who truly deserve the name of beauties.

In general, they are likewise more witty and lively than the men ; free in their manners, and very fond of pleasure, which is, in fact, the busines of their lives. They are much attached to strangers, especially to the English, who care not for their money, and spend it freely upon the ladies, and in procuring them every kind of diversion. I did not perceive that they made much of the generality of our seamen ; yet it does not unfrequently happen, that these pick up wives here, and bring them to Europe.

They all lead a very easy life. The men, who are freemen of the town, are seldom seen abroad : they are generally at home, in an undrefs, and spend their time in smoking tobacco, and in loitering up and down the house.

After dinner, they take a nap, according to the Indian fashion, and in the evening they play a game at cards. They are not addicted to reading, and are, consequently, very ignorant, and even know little of what is doing in other parts of the globe, except from what they may hear by the strangers who visit them from time to time. I met with several, who were not to be persuaded,

that a better country, or a more pleasant place, than this, their native home, was anywhere to be found.

In dress, both men and women follow the Dutch mode ; the appearance of the latter, however, is more modish than might be expected at so small a place.

The character of the inhabitants in general, especially of the farmers, is open and friendly. They are extremely hospitable, and share whatever they possess with the strangers who may visit them. In the town, however, much envy and jealousy prevails among the inhabitants ; they grudge each other the least good fortune, and their companies, become in consequence, on the long run, very disagreeable to strangers ; for they cannot avoid shewing their ill will for their neighbours, by remarks and sarcasms, not always unaccompanied by slander and calumny.

Most families at the *Cape* are maintained by the trade, which they carry on with the seafaring people who touch there, or by keeping lodging-houses for the ships' officers. These generally pay one rixdollar per day, per head.

These means would not, however, afford a sufficient

a sufficient livelihood, were not the necessities of life proportionably cheap. A good fat sheep seldom costs more than seven shillings \* ; when I was there, beef sold for four or five doits (eighths of a stiver) per pound ; a *mud* † of wheat amounted to about four gilders ; the common wines were sold, from two to three and a half stivers per bottle. Beer is not much drank here, though there is a brewery near the town, where pretty good malt-liquor is made.

On the other hand, all articles for dress must be imported from Europe, or from the Indies, and this renders the *Cape* in this respect a dear place. European broad cloth generally affords a handsome profit, as an article of trade.

The chief disorders incident to the country, are such as arise from colds, occasioned by the variability of the weather, and the great changes in it, which are sometimes felt on the same day. Fluxes, putrid fevers, and all diseases proceeding from excessive heat and noxious exhalations, are seldom heard of, except in the hospital.

\* About 3*s. 9d.* sterling. T.

† A mud is equal to about three bushels. T.

This settlement has, however, not long ago, suffered amazingly, for the third time, by the ravages of the small-pox. Many of the inhabitants, who had never had this disorder, fled to the country, where it had not spread, and the town became, on a sudden, an abandoned and solitary place.

In the beginning of this century, this destructive scourge was unknown in this country. It was in the year 1713, as I was told by some old people who were then alive, that it was discovered for the first time, and destroyed a great number of the inhabitants.

The *Cape* remained free from its ravages, afterwards, till the year 1755, when it again burst out with great fury, and carried off upwards of two-and-twenty hundred of the inhabitants of the town, in a very short time.

It appeared for a third time, in the years 1765 and 1766. The infection was then said to have been brought by an Indian slave with one of the homeward ships. It did not rage with so much violence, as the two former times; but it was not till the year 1769 that it entirely disappeared.

During this latter prevalence of the contagion, one gentleman inoculated two of his children,

children, with this singular consequence, that the eruption did not take place, till the forty-fourth day after inoculation ; they both did very well, and were alive when I left the *Cape*. This man was the only one, who was rational enough, to put this salutary invention in practice.

The greatest degree of heat, that I observed here, was  $87^{\circ}$ , and the lowest  $68^{\circ}$ , in the afternoon, by a Fahrenheit's thermometer. The barometer rises and falls very suddenly ; it generally ascends when the wind is at S.E. and descends when at N.W.

The tides do not rise high ; the difference between high and low water being no more than three or four feet.

The silver ducatoon, which goes in India for eighty stivers, is only current here for seventy-two, whether milled or not. Rupees, whether of *Batavia*, *Surat*, or *Bengal*, indiscriminately, go for twenty-four stivers. The coins which are current in Holland, are equally so here, except the Zealand rixdollars, for which no more than fifty stivers can be obtained. Sesthalfs (pieces of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  stivers) go for skillings (pieces of six stivers). Accounts are kept here, just as at *Batavia*, in rixdollars

rix dollars of forty-eight stivers. At public sales, and likewise in retail, the prices are taken at Cape gilders of sixteen stivers each. The Company's books are kept here, as well as through all India, in Holland's currency.

The chief authority is vested in a governor, who is, at the same time, counsellor of India. During my abode here, this office was filled by Mr. TULBAGH, who had resided at the *Cape*, in a variety of stations, ever since the year 1716, and was universally beloved by the colonists, on account of his excellent qualities.

A certain number of the chief servants of the Company, are given to him as counsellors, and who form the council of polity. The second in rank next to the governor, and the fiscal, who is independent of him, have the rank of senior merchants; and these, together with the chief of the military, who has the title of lieutenant-colonel, or major, are the principal persons of the establishment.

The management of whatever regards navigation, is vested in a comptroller of equipment, who is equally a member of the council of polity.

The administration of justice is confided to a separate

a separate council, of which, the second in command of the colony is president. In civil matters, an appeal lies from their sentence to the council of justice at *Batavia*. In criminal affairs, they are empowered both to pass sentence of death, and to put it into immediate execution.

Punishments are very severe here, especially with regard to oriental slaves. In the year 1768, I saw one, who had set an house on fire, broken alive upon the wheel, after the flesh had been torn from his body, in eight different places, with red-hot pincers, without his giving any sign of pain, during the execution of this barbarous sentence, which lasted full a quarter of an hour. Impalement is in use here, as well as at *Batavia*.

Officers are appointed in the interior parts of the colony, called *drofts*, or sheriffs, who arrest criminals, but have no power of trying or judging them; they must be sent up to the council of justice, to be examined and punished.

Besides the above, there are several other civil courts, or boards.

There are three clergymen of the reformed religion, who preach twice every Sunday.

The

The Company's troops amount to about four hundred men. The inhabitants of the town, and the country-people, are all likewise enrolled, and divided into companies.



END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

